



**GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
MINISTRY OF LABOUR**

**REPORT  
ON  
WORKERS' EDUCATION**

**MARCH, 1957**

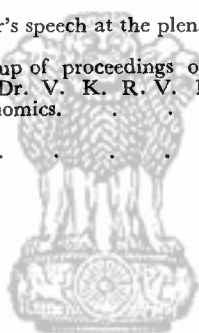
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सत्यमेव जयते

## THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE TO THE SEMINAR ON WORKERS' EDUCATION

I send my greetings and good wishes to the Seminar on Workers' Education. I think the subject of their discussion is of considerable importance. At any time this would be so, but, more particularly, in India on the eve of rapid industrialisation. If we give sound foundations now to our trade union movements, this will be good for the workers as well as for others. I wish the Seminar every success.

NEW DELHI : }  
March 20, 1957. }

Sd. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.



## PREFACE

Our Second Five Year Plan recognises that for the success of industrialisation on which the country has embarked, it is necessary that attention be given to improving the quality of our human resources. Perhaps the most important means of achieving this is through what may be broadly covered in the term "Workers' education". In recognition of this, a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs has been provided in the Second Five Year Plan for such education. How is a beginning to be made? What should be the content of this education? Should we spend the money mainly on adult education or should the emphasis be on inculcating trade unionism, for without a strong trade union movement no progress is possible? Should a programme of technical education also be covered in this context? What should be the agencies for implementation? What should be the role of Government in assisting such a programme? These are some of the difficult and controversial questions which came up before the Labour Ministry. It was considered that a study of these by a group of experts with varied experience in India and abroad would be of value to all concerned with the subject and, with the assistance of the Ford Foundation, a combined Team was set up for the purpose. The result of their labours is presented herewith.

The Labour Ministry wishes to take this opportunity of expressing its gratitude to the Members of the Team who, at the sacrifice of their own convenience, have devoted so much time and labour to this important problem and to The Ford Foundation, which arranged for the participation in this study of distinguished overseas experts in this field.

Sd. VISHNU SAHAY.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

No undertaking in modern history bears more significance and challenge than the bold and imaginative projects of the Government of India in its Second Five Year Plan. It hopes to accomplish in a span of five years the herculean task of increasing its industrial output in such proportions that overall production will be enhanced by at least 5 per cent. a year. But coupled with this giant step forward is its great and humane concern for the welfare and economic well-being of its millions of industrial workers.

The Government believes that its goals can be achieved only through the dedication, hard work and sympathies of all its people; but so that the workers may help determine how these goals are to be secured and in what way they may benefit in the fruits of their labour, the Government insists that the trade unions be strengthened through the establishment of a workers' education programme.

To initiate this programme, the Government has allotted rupees 50 lakhs for education in trade union philosophy and methods. As the programme unfolds, it is hoped that full utilisation will be made of it by trade union members and industrial workers and that all aspects of trade union administration, collective bargaining and social welfare will be covered in the courses to be offered.

To ascertain the needs of the workers and to recommend action in the field of workers' education, the Government of India, in co-operation with The Ford Foundation, appointed an international team to suggest specifically the steps to be taken for:

- (i) education of union representatives in the principles and techniques of trade union organisation, management and financing;
- (ii) education of union members for intelligent participation in union affairs and for the better performance of their duties as citizens;
- (iii) education of union representatives in responsible and effective participation in management; and
- (iv) other general aspects of workers' education.

Within these broad terms of reference, the Team was free to develop its own procedure and to consider any other matters with a view to making appropriate suggestions.\*

On its own initiative, the Ministry of Labour prepared a questionnaire† in order to ascertain the opinions held on workers' education by workers, trade union officials and members, employers' organisations, educational institutions and Government Department connected with labour and education at the Centre and in the States.

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\* See Press Note issued by the Ministry of Labour announcing the Team and its purposes as reproduced in Appendix "A".

† See Appendix "B".

During the first week in February 1957, the Team assembled in New Delhi and held preliminary discussions with the Minister for Planning and officers of the Ministries of Education and Labour and with trade union and employers' organisations. A four-week investigatory trip\* followed and covered the important centres of industry and/or education throughout the country, including Indore, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Mysore, Madras, Calcutta, Jamshedpur, D.V.C. (Maithon), Chittaranjan, Dhanbad, Sindri, Banaras, Kanpur and Lucknow. At these sites, discussions were held with local trade unions and their members, employers and their associations, educationists and Government personnel as to their respective views on workers' education and how their assistance could be secured.

While the Team endeavoured to seek out and elicit the views of as many persons and organisations as possible, there were certain inevitable omissions caused by unforeseen events and pre-arranged commitments on the part of those to be visited. Upon its return to Delhi, the Team sought ways to compensate for the omissions that may have been made in the field.

The work of the Team was considerably facilitated by the generous co-operation of the Central Ministries and State Governments. In particular, the assistance of the officers of the Labour Ministry and the Contact Officers appointed by the State Governments made the trip an easy and pleasant one.

This study could not have succeeded had not the trade unions, the employers and other groups made the task fruitful by their open and frank discussions.

Upon the completion of the trip, the Government assembled a seminar† on workers' education in Delhi on March 20-22nd 1957 in order to further answer any questions that might exist in the minds of the members of the Team.

Following an exhaustive analysis of all the materials and views secured, the conferences held and the opinions expressed, the Team has prepared this report for the Government of India. The report seeks to state the problem as it exists in India today and then to suggest ways and means of solving it by offering the twelve general recommendations that follow.

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\* See Appendix "C" for itinerary covered and organisations visited.

† See Appendix "D"

## CHAPTER II

### GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

#### *Recommendation No. 1*

A Central Board, having semi-autonomous authority, should be established comprising representatives from trade unions, employers, Government (including Ministries of Labour and Education) and educational institutions.

Its primary functions should be to :-

- A. Lay down policy ;
- B. Administer the programmes, allocate funds, inspect, co-ordinate, audit accounts ; etc.
- C. Arrange for the provision of educational materials ;
- D. Establish standards for teachers and programmes ;
- E. Encourage the establishment of active educational departments within the national unions and federations; and
- F. Otherwise stimulate and promote the development of workers' education.

#### *Recommendation No. 2*

At the instance of the Central Board or when a local demand is made, State and/or Regional Boards on the pattern of the Central Board should be set up as soon as practicable.

Within their respective areas, the functions of these Boards should be similar to those of the Central Board.

#### *Recommendation No. 3*

Local Workers' Education Boards should be created in industrial centres by existing Boards or on the initiative of the local interested parties.

The Local Boards should encourage local workers' education activities and administer approved programmes.

#### *Recommendation No. 4*

Any industrial worker, whether literate or illiterate, trade union member or not, and full-time union officials and staff should be eligible for the services provided by the Boards.

Selection of candidates for the Workers' Education Programme should be made jointly by the trade unions and educational institutions.

### *Recommendation No. 5*

Where trade unions exist, applications for workers' education should be channelled through such trade unions. In the absence of trade unions, workers may apply direct to their respective Boards.

### *Recommendation No. 6*

A series of programmes should be organised in existing educational institutions, at local union level, community centres, places of employment, or at labour colleges and schools that may be established to provide instruction in :—

- A. Trade union consciousness ;
- B. The purposes, functions and administration of trade unions ;
- C. The conduct of union-management relations and knowledge of the industry ; and
- D. The development of a mature individual and his role as a citizen.

### *Recommendation No. 7*

Instruction should be provided for programmes as follows :—

- A. Single-session conferences ;
- B. Part-time classes during and/or outside working hours ;
- C. Full-time courses from one week to three months or of a longer duration when required ; and
- D. Such other methods as may be found desirable.

Full attention should be paid to the techniques of instruction such as informal discussions, role-playing, field work, seminars, lectures, films, correspondence courses, etc.

### *Recommendation No. 8*

Provision should be made for training teachers and programme administrators for full and part-time assignments. While existing facilities should be used to their maximum, an initial project of teacher-administrator instruction should be inaugurated forthwith.

### *Recommendation No. 9*

Suitable materials in the necessary languages should be prepared consisting of :—

- A. Pamphlets, books and charts ;
- B. Teaching manuals and guides ;
- C. Audio-visual aids.



### *Recommendation No. 10*

Institutions and individuals interested in workers' education should be encouraged to form a non-official Workers' Education Association acting in co-operation with the adult education movement.

### *Recommendation No. 11*

The Workers' Education Programme should be financed by :—

- A. Central and State Government grants ;
- B. Contributions from trade unions ;
- C. Assistance in kind from educational institutions, e.g., class rooms, libraries, teaching, etc. ;
- D. Support by employers through payment of release time wages for the duration of the training period ; and
- E. Grants from funds consisting of unpaid wages, fines, canteen profits, etc.

In allocating the resources, due regard should be paid to the importance of initiating the programmes, and providing services and materials in preference to sponsoring any ambitious programme involving capital expenditure on buildings.

### *Recommendation No. 12*

Consideration should be given to those matters which might provide a more favourable climate to accomplish the goals of workers' education by :—

- A. Instituting measures calculated to bring about a strong trade union movement ;
- B. Providing courses in labour-management relations in educational institutions ;
- C. Meeting the great need for the Government to set the example as an ideal employer to the worker and/or trade unions engaged in the public sector ;
- D. Encouraging a wage policy that provides for wage and/or incentive bonus adjustments as productivity rises ; and
- E. Undertaking a study of legislation at the Central and State Government levels with the objective of strengthening and Co-ordinating all legislation affecting the trade union movement.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE PROBLEM

The Government of India in its Second Five Year Plan has as its stated objectives the following :—

- (i) a sizeable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country;
- (ii) rapid industrialization with particular emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries;
- (iii) a large expansion of employment opportunities; and
- (iv) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

At the present time, agricultural and allied pursuits absorb about 70 per cent. of the working force. It is hoped that by 1975-76 the proportion of the total labour force in agriculture should go down to 60% or so. If this is achieved, there will be a four fold increase in the number of industrial workers engaged in factory establishments and mining by 1975-76. In specific industries within 5 years, the following targets are to be achieved :—

	1955-56	1960-61
(1) Finished steel (Figures in million tons)	1.28	4.3
(2) Cement (Figures in million tons)	4.6	13
(3) Cotton Textiles (Figures in million yards)	6,850	8,403
(4) Automobiles (Nos.)	25,000	65,000
(5) Railway Locomotives (Nos.)	179	400

Expansion of many other key industries is to be of a comparable magnitude.

All this indicates that there will be an extraordinary increase not only in productive facilities within the next five years but also in the total number of individuals who will be taken from agriculture and put into the industrial working force.

It is the policy of the Union Government as stated in its objectives that economic power be distributed as equally as possible and this in part refers to increasing the amount of power within the hands of the trade union movement in order to achieve the rise in the level of living which is sought by the nation.

Today in India out of nearly 7 million individuals employed in industries, roughly two and a half million are organised into trade unions. In the case of the textile industry approximately 40% of the workers were organised. In the iron and steel industry and allied trades, 73% of the workers were organised. In engineering only 23%, in mining 27%, in chemicals 35% and in tobacco only 11% of the workers were organised into trade unions.

The Second Five Year Plan in order to achieve its employment goal looks for an annual increase of domestic product of about 5% as compared to the 3.6% average realised during the First Five Year Plan and the estimate of about 1.5% average in the ten years' period preceding the First Plan.

The total number of individuals now employed in industry is very small compared to the total population of the country. Nevertheless, the importance of this group far exceeds its actual numbers, and as the industrial force increases year by year, more and more attention will be focussed upon it and the problems that potentially lie within it. There can be no question but that rapid industrialisation will cause major upheavals in the economy of the country unless means are taken to prevent them. As agricultural workers move to the cities and enter industrial employment, their entire way of life changes. The security of the family and the village disappears. The problems brought about by industrialisation sometimes become almost insurmountable to the average workers. Thus there develop discontent and dis-satisfaction within the working force that can be highly explosive in nature.

As has happened in every country where industrialisation has taken place, trade union organisation appears. Trade union activity is then either hampered and thwarted or is accepted by Government and the employer as a legitimate function and is encouraged to grow and participate in the economic prosperity of the country.

Today there are approximately two and a half million trade union members whose membership is centred in approximately three thousand registered trade unions.\* These two and a half million members are divided likewise among four national federations, a number of independent federations and numerous autonomous small local unions. It is believed that approximately 65% of the total membership is affiliated to the four national federations. In March 1955 the four federations claimed the following membership as per the data reported by Government :—

Name of the Organisation	Claimed		Verified	
	No. of unions	Membership	No. of unions	Membership
Indian National Trade Union Congress.	977	13,38,607	604	9,30,698
All-India Trade Union Congress.	1,030	7,89,045	481	3,06,963
Hind Mazdoor Sabha	335	4,76,630	157	2,11,315
United Trade Union Congress	502	5,13,623	223	1,95,242

It is probably true that there has been some slight increase in membership since March 31st, 1955 as the I.N.T.U.C. for example submits the figure of 1,429,621 as its membership on the 31st December, 1955.

Because there are four federations existing competitively in many geographical areas and industries, they present serious problems for effective collective bargaining and trade union unity. In addition, it has been widely stated that each of the four federations

\*There are about 6,000 unions in the books of the Registrars of Trade Union but membership figures are available only in regard to about 3,000 unions.

is too closely connected with political parties and too frequently governed by political motives rather than by trade union objectives. It is claimed, on the other hand, by certain people that to some extent the large industrial federations, such as Defence, Railways, and Posts & Telegraphs, by their independent nature and non-affiliation to the four major federations are free from political motivation.

It cannot be denied that most Indian trade unions are organisationally weak and are particularly hampered by the lack of adequate finance. In addition, a majority of the trade unions do not have full-time office-bearers directing their activities and carrying on their day-to-day functions.

Fortunately for the country there are a number of highly qualified individuals who hold positions of power within the trade union movement. They are not only aware of the difficulties and the structural weaknesses inherent in the movement but are also determined to improve the quality of trade unionism, to establish more effective positions with respect to the employer, the Government and the public and to strengthen its ties with rank and file membership. Many of the unions in India have been considering the question of employing full-time staff representatives to do the necessary organising and to carry on the efficient administration of trade unions in order to realise their important role in the economic system. These leaders likewise recognise that more attention must be paid to finding satisfactory ways of solving industrial disputes and providing the many services required by its members.

The Government has stated in its Second Five Year Plan that the creation of industrial democracy is a pre-requisite for the establishment of the kind of a society envisaged by it (socialist society). The Plan specially states that the worker should be made to feel that in his own way he is helping to build a progressive State. "For the achievement of industrial democracy a strong trade union movement is necessary. This can be achieved by improving the finances of trade unions, granting them representative character and promotion of leadership from within. Training of workers in trade union philosophy and methods becomes necessary if the workers have to find their leaders from within their ranks. In the matter of industrial relations the objective should be industrial peace to be achieved through mutual negotiations, conciliation and voluntary arbitration and in intractable cases through compulsory arbitration. The importance of preventive measures for achieving industrial peace needs to be emphasised."

The problem before the country thus emerges clearly. From the present state of trade union affairs we have a long way to go to achieve the objectives of the Second Five Year Plan, quoted above. An effective workers' education programme needs to be adopted and that too against the background that only a rudimentary, unorganised workers' education movement is in existence. While it is recognised that everything cannot be accomplished by means of workers' education alone nor within the compass of the next five years, the consensus of opinion among the union rank and file members, union office bearers, employers, educationists and government personnel is that a great step forward will be taken by the immediate inauguration of this programme.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS OF RECOMMENDATIONS

#### *Recommendation No. 1*

A Central Board, having semi-autonomous authority, should be established comprising representatives from trade unions, employers, Government (including Ministries of Labour and Education) and educational institutions.

Its primary functions should be to :—

- A. Lay down policy;
- B. Administer the programmes, allocate funds, inspect, co-ordinate, audit accounts; etc.
- C. Arrange for the provision of educational materials;
- D. Establish standards for teachers and programmes;
- E. Encourage the establishment of active educational departments within the national unions and federations; and
- F. Otherwise stimulate and promote the development of workers' education.

A Central Board should be established and invested with the responsibility of launching the Workers' Education Scheme. This Board should comprise representatives from trade unions, employers, Government and educational institutions.

If the Workers' Education scheme is to succeed, co-operation will need to be developed among these groups. Trade unions have the main interest in workers' education. In fact, they have taken the initiative in establishing workers' education in other countries of the world. Only because of very limited financial resources, rival trade unionism and other pressing problems have they been unable to undertake a systematic programme in India. It is of crucial importance that they be given the largest group representation on such a Board. Government is providing the initial funds and it needs to be assured that its contributions are properly used. The co-operation of educational institutions in conducting programmes under the plan entitles them to representation on the Board.

Employers are expected to make their contribution to the success of the workers' education programme in the form of release time pay as well as facilities and services for the conduct of certain phases of the programme.

To stimulate interest in and support of the programme on the part of the employers they should have representation on the Central Board.

The workers' and employers' representatives should be nominated by their respective national organisations, and those of educational institutions and Government, by the Union Government. The precise size of the Board can be at the discretion of the Union Government but it is recommended that it be not so large that it becomes unwieldy. Equal representation of each group is not necessary. In fact, it is recommended that the workers' representation constitute the largest single group.

The Board should be responsible for the general policy of the entire scheme, encouraging workers' education, setting standards for teachers and programmes, arranging for the provision of necessary materials and aids for successful programmes and for supervising all programmes conducted under its sponsorship. The Board is, therefore, conceived as a body determining policy, promoting workers' education and supervising the approved programmes.

In time, the trade union movement in India should take over the primary responsibility for workers' education. The Board can help this development by encouraging the formation of active education departments in national unions and federations in so far as they follow the policy laid down by the Board.

#### *Recommendation No. 2*

At the instance of the Central Board or when a local demand is made, State and/or Regional Boards on the pattern of the Central Board should be set up as far as practicable.

Within their respective areas, the functions of these Boards should be similar to those of the Central Board.

It is desirable to achieve, over a period of time, maximum possible decentralisation of functions in connection with workers' education. As a step towards achieving this end, the Team recommends the establishment of State and/or Regional Boards on the pattern of the Central Board. These Boards will exercise functions similar to those of the Central Board within their respective areas. However, they will be subject to the administrative control of the Central Board and will be bound by its directions.

It is considered that at a later stage when State and Local Boards come into existence in fair numbers, Local Boards should have representation on State Boards, and State Boards on the Central Board.

#### *Recommendation No. 3*

Local Workers' Education Boards should be created in industrial centres by existing Boards or on the initiative of the local interested parties.

The Local Boards should encourage local workers' education activities and administer approved programmes.

Normally Local Boards will be established through the initiative of trade union, employer and educational representative within the locality. Wherever such initiative is not forthcoming and a Local Board is needed, the initiative in the establishment of such a Board should be taken by the appropriate State or Regional Board, or where no such Board exists, by the Central Board. These Boards will, as far as possible, be constituted on the pattern of the State/Regional Boards. The members of the Local Board shall be appointed by the State or Regional Board, as the case may be, in consultation with the State Government and the group interests concerned. These Local Boards will be responsible for the conduct of approved programmes. In short, any programme in a centre where there is a Local Board will be under the aegis of that Board.

#### *Recommendation No. 4*

Any industrial worker, whether literate or illiterate, trade union member or not, and full-time union officials and staff should be eligible for the services provided by the Boards.

Selection of candidates for the Workers' Education Programme should be made jointly by the trade unions and educational institutions.

The objective is to provide to any worker who wishes, the opportunity to understand what a trade union is and how it operates, and to develop the necessary skill, confidence and knowledge to participate in any level of trade union activity—from active membership to the highest office in the trade union.

Such opportunities for learning should be made available regardless of the degree of past education. It is particularly important that those who have been deprived of educational advantages, have the opportunity to participate effectively in their trade union so that they can make their contribution to it and the nations.

If trade unions are to grow in strength, the unorganised workers as well as trade union members must be afforded the opportunity to know and understand the purposes of trade unions and their operation. Consequently, both groups should be eligible for workers' education programme.

For historical reasons, many trade union officials today are individuals who are not now, nor have ever been, workers in the industry or occupation which their trade union organises. Many of these so-called "outsiders" have made outstanding contributions to the trade union movement, although unfortunately some have not hesitated to use their positions for personal or other ends as distinct from trade union purposes. While the latter category of "outsiders" should not be eligible for the benefits of the workers' education programmes, it would not be appropriate to exclude the former. Indeed, it would be a loss to the trade union movement to deny itself the benefit of their services. It is recommended, therefore, that those "outsiders" who have been workers or who devote full-time to union activity should be eligible for participation in any programme.

Those who wish to attend a particular programme may be greater in number than the facilities permit. Moreover entrance qualifications for some programmes are necessary. Where selection from among the applicants has to be made, care should be taken to avoid any suspicion of Government or employer favouritism. In order to ensure this, any Selection Committee should be limited to representatives from trade unions and educational institutions.

*Recommendation No. 5*

Where trade unions exist, applications for workers' educations should be channelled through such trade unions. In the absence of trade unions, workers may apply direct to their respective Boards.

In keeping with the principle of trade union participation in each aspect of the scheme, the candidate should file his application through a registered trade union when one exists in his undertaking. The trade unions' sponsorship of workers' education candidates will help allay any suspicions which may exist within the union, will make it easier for the worker to apply his training to the union affairs upon return, and will lead to the trade union taking a more active interest in workers' education.

Where no opportunity for a worker to join a trade union exists, because his undertaking has no trade union, workers should apply direct to the appropriate Board.

*Recommendation No. 6*

A series of programmes should be organised in existing educational institutions, at local union level, community centres, places of employment, or at labour colleges and schools that may be established to provide instruction in:—

- A. Trade Union consciousness ;
- B. The purposes, functions and administration of trade unions ;
- C. The conduct of union-management relations and knowledge of the industry ; and
- D. The development of a mature individual and his role as a citizen.

The objectives set for these programmes suggest the following areas for courses :—

(1) *The purposes of trade unions.*—This course would present what the importance of the individual worker is, what a trade union is, what its objectives are, how free, democratic, united and responsible trade unions function and the related subjects dealing with the structure, history and traditions of trade unions.

(2) *Trade union organisation, administration and procedure.*—In this course, workers would have the opportunity to develop skill and knowledge in such subjects as how to conduct a trade union meeting, participate in a meeting, organise workers, keep financial and other records, collect contributions and numerous other functions of internal union administration.



(3) *Trade union-management relations and problems of collective bargaining.*—This course provides information and training in negotiations, grievance procedure, union-management contract provisions and an understanding of the subjects dealt with in a collective bargaining.

(4) *Community welfare and development.*—This area is of special importance to India. It would discuss the need for trade unions to co-operate and participate with other groups in community welfare development programmes or to organise their own services. It would also discuss methods of participation, co-operation or organisation and provide practical training. Included would be ways of developing health, recreation, housing, co-operative and other facilities for community life.

(5) *Labour laws and regulations affecting labour.*—This course would deal with the laws and regulations which protect working standards and regulate or protect trade union practices and procedures.

(6) *Workers' education.*—This course would include how to organise a trade union education programme, how to have it function within a trade union, the tools and techniques of teaching and related questions.

(7) *Worker participation in management.*—Study programmes in the function and operation of works councils, industry councils, and joint management councils, production problems, ways of increasing productivity and otherwise contributing to industrial growth and expansion would be included. Management and production methods, an understanding of which is necessary for workers' participation would also be discussed in this group.

(8) *Personal and citizenship Government.*—Courses dealing with social and economic policies, citizenship interests, personal development and other aspects of adult education in which workers are interested would be included in this group.

It is recommended that the part-time education programmes be conducted in the most convenient places for those attending. This may be the trade union's meeting place, a community welfare centre, the place of employment, a school or any other convenient place. The full-time education programme should enable the workers to leave his normal environment to concentrate on his training. Colleges and Universities, holiday homes, and other centres conducive to study should be utilised.

It is recommended that maximum use be made of existing educational facilities. This is suggested for two reasons. First, the existing skills and resources can be made available to the programme immediately. Secondly, the limited funds available can be used almost entirely for programmes and materials necessary for workers' education activities.

Universities, colleges and other educational institutions which demonstrate an interest and adapt their methods of instruction to the needs of workers can conduct the specific programmes.

In leading industrial centres, a specific educational institution or the local Workers' Education Board can serve as a Labour Education Centre for organising and conducting approved workers' education programmes.

Any co-operating educational institution or trade union must agree to abide by the policy of the Central Board. The instruction should be objective in character within the framework established by the Central Board. However, complete flexibility should be granted to the teaching institutions in the manner in which the courses shall be offered.

#### *Recommendation No. 7*

Instruction should be provided for programmes as follows:—

- A. Single-session conferences ;
- B. Part-time classes during and/or outside working hours;
- C. Full-time courses from one week to three months or of a longer duration when required ; and
- D. Such other methods as may be found desirable.

Full attention should be paid to the techniques of instruction such as informal discussions, role-playing, field work, seminars, lectures, films, correspondence courses, etc.

Workers' education is conceived as a *life-long process*. No single course of instruction should terminate a worker's education. For this reason each programme should be of a relatively short duration. Workers should have the opportunity to take further courses after applying their previous training in their trade union.

The programmes organised should make a special effort to meet the specific needs and interests of those in attendance. Single-session conferences can be planned for the worker who is an actual or potential union member. These programmes can be organised on an informal basis, aim to reach large groups of workers and strive to achieve educational value for every worker regardless of his literacy. A series of alternative programmes aimed at developing trade union consciousness can be developed. Informal techniques including films, drama, group singing, exhibition, simple pamphlets in which the education is developed primarily by illustrations and other methods, may be devised. Informal classes aimed at developing a systematic understanding of the purposes of trade unions and the rights and responsibilities of trade union membership are proposed. The objective of this programme would be to develop trade union understanding and effective participation amongst the membership of trade unions. These classes could be of six to twelve sessions in duration, meeting once or twice a week for about two hours each. This programme should be organised so that every worker regardless of his literacy could participate profitably. Emphasis should be put on informal discussions, role-playing, and cases developed from concrete problems experienced by workers.

Full-time programmes from one week to one month duration are suggested for those who are, or may aspire to become, part-time officers of their trade union. The subject-matter for this group would stress, but not be limited to, the organisation administration and procedure of trade unions and their relations amongst themselves and with the management and the community. The techniques of instruction would include both formal and informal methods depending on the specific subject being discussed.

A full-time programme of six weeks to three months duration aimed at developing full-time union officers and staff is proposed. This programme would deal more intensively with the subjects outlined above for developing part-time officers and include wider areas of study.

In view of the importance of developing labour participation in management, it is proposed that special seminars be developed dealing with management problems, financial statements etc.

It is also recommended that an annual conference of top union leadership lasting from three days to a week be conducted, at which the leading problems facing the trade union movement would be discussed.

There should be established an information and research centre in trade unionism and workers' education to which trade unions and workers' education organisations could resort for assistance on the problems confronting them.

Not all areas outlined above can be developed at once. Even the countries with the most developed workers' education activities do not fully achieve this scope. In India, step by step, plans must be laid through which the whole scope can eventually be realised. It is recommended that the programmes outlined be given the same order of priority as the order in which they are listed above after trained teacher-administrators are available. In time as experience and staff develop, a series of courses can be organised in each of the areas outlined.

#### *Recommendation No. 8*

Provision should be made for training teachers and programme administrators for full and part-time assignments. While existing facilities should be used to their maximum, an initial project of teacher-administrator instruction should be inaugurated forthwith.

Two types of teachers will be required:

- A. the full-time teacher-administrators; and
- B. those who have other responsibilities but are called upon to teach part-time in the programmes as they develop.

A good teacher has—

- 1. a knowledge of the subject matter to be taught to adult workers;
- 2. the ability to teach informally; and
- 3. a belief that sound trade unionism is socially desirable.

The part-time teacher can be drawn from those who have had experience in the subject to be taught. For example, the trade union leader can conduct courses or individual sessions in how to manage the affairs of the union, how to process a grievance, etc.; the Professor in his field of competence and the government labour official in labour legislation administration. However, such teachers usually need some help in special training techniques. For their benefit it is recommended that :—

1. a short simple pamphlet providing hints for teaching adults be made available ;
2. for those able to attend, a three-day to one week seminar on purposes of workers' education, teaching techniques, material preparation, etc., be organised ; and
3. "on the job training" be used by having a person qualified in subject-matter participate with one qualified in teaching techniques.

The full-time teacher-administrators can be drawn from experienced trade unionists, and instructors from qualified teachers having a demonstrated interest in and an understanding of trade unions. Supplementary training will be required by many trade unionists to become teacher-administrators, and by some professional teachers to qualify as Workers' Education Instructors. In order to enable them to perform their duties effectively, it is suggested that—

- (1) a three months' or longer teacher-training programme be established forthwith ;
- (2) after some experience in the field the teacher-administrator should be provided with further opportunity for training and guidance in the problems he has faced in his workers' education activities ; and
- (3) selected candidates be sent overseas to study workers' education in other countries.

It is recommended that an initial project be the establishment of a national demonstration centre for workers' education. At this centre, teacher-administrator training programmes and demonstration activities would be held. It should develop in time as the centre for library, research, training and pilot schemes and experimental programmes in order to gain experience. Such experience gained should be made available from time to time to all institutions and people interested in workers' education.

#### *Recommendation No. 9*

Suitable materials in the necessary languages should be prepared consisting of :—

- A. Pamphlets, books and charts ;
- B. Teaching manuals and guides ; and
- C. Audio-visual aids.

Since workers' education is to be on a voluntary basis and will enroll students from diverse educational and social backgrounds, the instruction will have to be offered in a manner that is interesting and understandable to all. This requires a variety of teaching aids beyond the traditional ones. Among the materials needed are films and film strips, posters, pamphlets, gramophone records, radio programmes and sets, books, charts and pictures. It is suggested that a series of films depicting various aspects of the life of the Indian worker and his trade union activities should be prepared. Similarly, posters arranged in series should depict the lives of workers, their needs and how their conditions at home and in factories may be improved.

Simply written and extensively illustrated pamphlets can convey to workers the meaning, objectives and functions of their trade unions and the role they can play. The above materials will have to be produced in the regional languages, in Hindi and probably in English.

Plays dealing with trade union themes and the benefits of trade unionism should be produced. Travelling exhibitions should be another effective method of developing trade union consciousness. Labour songs and inspiring speeches of Indian leaders and great trade unionists of the world telling the story of the workers' aspirations should be recorded. They can prove to be successful media for inspiring workers in the performance of their trade union functions.

A mobile van equipped with the above media and necessary facilities for their use will provide a method for reaching a large number of workers living in isolated areas.

A Teachers' Manual dealing with the most effective use of materials should be prepared.

The systematic courses will require additional materials including discussion guides, case problems, text-books and other references.

The materials and teaching aids in the form needed are almost non-existent. However, sources for such materials are available and should be utilised. The agencies for Social Education have already produced such aids adapted to the Indian environment. With suitable modification, they can serve the purpose of educating workers in trade unionism. Foreign materials can also be adapted to suit the Indian background. Some books and other materials will have to be produced.

#### *Recommendation No. 10*

Institutions and individuals interested in workers' education should be encouraged to form a non-official Workers' Education Association acting in co-operation with the adult education movement.

If workers' education is to develop into a movement with deep roots among trade unionists, teachers and other participants, it is necessary that the interested persons associate together in their own organisation in order to exchange experience, promote new areas of activity and otherwise encourage the development of workers' education. Consideration should, therefore, be given to the development of a voluntary, non-official Workers' Education Association in India.

Workers' education is an important field of adult education in itself but it has much to contribute to and draw from other areas. It is, therefore, suggested that the Workers' Education Association develop in co-operation with groups engaged in community development and other aspects of social education.

*Recommendation No. 11*

The Workers' Education Programme should be financed by:—

- A. Central and State Government grants ;
- B. Contributions from trade unions ;
- C. Assistance in kind from education institutions, e.g., class rooms, libraries, teaching, etc. ;
- D. Support by employers through payment of release time wages for the duration of the training period ; and
- E. Grants from funds consisting of unpaid wages, fines, canteen profits, etc.

In allocating the resources, due regard should be paid to the importance of initiating the programmes, and providing services and materials in preference to sponsoring any ambitious programme involving capital expenditure on buildings.

An essential pre-requisite for all programmes of workers' education is adequate finance. It is noted with real gratification that the Government of India has allotted a sum of rupees fifty lakhs for this purpose during the Second Five Year Plan period. This amount, however, will only cover a part of the need if the full potential is to be realised. The demand for workers' education will certainly increase as the industrialization of the country progresses and the workers' education movement gathers momentum. It may be that the Union Government will, if necessary, augment the allocation of rupees fifty lakhs for the Second Five Year Plan or perhaps the State Governments will be in a position to make special grants for workers' education. Nevertheless, it will be admitted generally that it will not be possible to depend entirely on Government grants for promoting workers' education. It is necessary to tap all other possible resources.

The second potential source of revenue should be the trade unions. It is no doubt true that only a few trade unions are at present in a position to make any substantial contribution for this cause. But it is reasonable to hope that with the increasing economic prosperity of the country and the emergence gradually of a strong,

free and united trade union movement the workers' organisations will be in a position to assume an increasing proportion of the financial responsibility. It is strongly recommended that even in the initial stages there should be a token contribution from the trade unions for the cause of workers' education. Although it is not quite certain as to how this contribution should be assessed and realized, it is clear that the trade unions must contribute something, however small it may be, from the very beginning. Apart from the question of the amount of the contribution, there is the psychological need for the workers and the trade unions to feel a stake in the movement and to be conscious of their responsibility in the matter. It is also desirable to inculcate in the minds of the workers the feeling that they are paying, according to their ability, for their own education.

Another possible source of income is grants from funds consisting of unpaid wages, fines, canteen profits, etc. It is understood that in some States these funds have already been committed to some extent to finance welfare activities for workers. It will be reasonable to assume that workers' education activities are of such importance that they should have a claim upon the above funds equal to or better than that of any welfare activity.

Universities and other educational institutions will also find it possible to render assistance by providing facilities for class-rooms, libraries, teaching staff, etc.

Employers should contribute by payment of release time wages of the trainees during the training period. Voluntary contributions from employers may be made to the Central Board, provided there are no restrictions placed as to the use of the funds.

Since available resources are limited special emphasis should be laid on one point. It is very important to ensure that they are not frittered away on ambitious programmes involving the construction of costly buildings. The emphasis should be to direct the major portion of the available resources to financing of the actual operation of the education programmes and the provision of essential services and materials.

#### *Recommendation No. 12*

Consideration should be given to those matters which might provide a more favourable climate to accomplish the goals of workers' education by :—

- A. Instituting measures calculated to bring about a strong trade union movement ;
- B. Providing courses in labour-management relations in educational institutions ;
- C. Meeting the great need for the Government to set the example as an ideal employer to the worker and/or trade unions engaged in the public sector ;
- D. Encouraging a wage policy that provides for wage and/or incentive bonus adjustments as productivity rises ;. and

- E. Undertaking a study of legislation at the Central and State Government levels with the objective of strengthening and co-ordinating all legislation affecting the trade union movement.

Workers' education can contribute to the development of strong and responsible trade unionism through which workers can play their role in helping to build India's new society. It cannot however, fully achieve its goals unless a more favourable climate is provided. Trade unions, employees, Government and the general public can help to make this climate possible.

Government has two key methods at its disposal. One is improved labour legislation and the other, setting the example in the public sector for employers in the private sector. The Government might appropriately give consideration to improving existing measures for eliminating unhealthy rivalry among trade unions, encouraging collective bargaining and voluntary arbitration and for promoting the financial stability of trade unions.

The Government has a responsibility as the largest single and increasingly important employer, to set the example in its industrial relations practices. Its policy in its relationship to trade unions, its day-to-day relations with the trade unions, its wages and working conditions should serve as a challenging model for employers in the private sector.

Employers likewise can contribute to an improved environment. Greater willingness to decide industrial relations practices through mutual agreement with trade unions and to accept voluntary arbitration when necessary as a substitute for litigation, and greater emphasis on a substitute for litigation and greater emphasis on a problem-solving approach instead of a legalistic one is suggested. Workers may not accept technological advances and increased productivity as a goal unless they witness some relationship between this increase and their income. A wage policy which provides for wage and/or incentive bonus adjustment as productivity increases is essential. Employers should likewise give consideration to the need for expanding management training in the field of trade union-management relations.

Trade unions can make their contribution by eliminating extraneous ideological and political influences, by uniting together and by devoting their efforts to improving the conditions of workers in India.

The educational institutions of the country can help to improve the climate among the general public. Before graduation, every student in colleges and universities should have an understanding of the role of trade unions in modern society. By establishing courses in the field of trade union practices and functions, collective bargaining and trade union-management relations such understanding will develop.

Only trade unions, employers, Government and educational institution and the mass media of communication working together, can create a healthy climate for the workers' playing their role in helping to build India's new society.



## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS

India stands at the threshold of a new era. She is committed to an industrial way of life that within its democratic framework and in accordance with the socialist goal would provide ever more goods and services for its people.

Democracy thrives upon the right of everyone to participate and to share politically, economically and socially in the country in which they dwell.

When the Government of India creates and implements a workers' education programme as suggested by this report, the pace of the trade union movement may well be accelerated in the years ahead and with it may come the realisation that has been the hope of many. This realisation is that the trade union movement expand rapidly and bring within its ranks all workers engaged in industrial enterprises both in the private and the public sector; that it develop within itself a group of well-trained and skilled officers, that it understand both its rights and responsibilities in a dynamic and growing economy and that it will become, in the most literal sense, democratic in the management of its own internal affairs and responsible in its relations with employers, society and Government.

There can be no room in India for an authoritarian or regimented trade union movement, and there should not exist in any industry a trade union organisation that is opposed to the principles contained in the Constitution.

Workers' education in India could become the foremost pattern of its kind in the world. It is being inaugurated under the most auspicious signs and with the most generous support of the Government, trade unions, employers and educational institutions. Given proper direction by those entrusted with its initial administration and development, it can well become a factor in realising the lofty ideals as outlined in the Plan framed by the people through their Government.

Sd. A. S. IYENGAR  
Sd. ANTHONY LUCHEK  
Sd. A. FONSECA  
Sd. KNUT LARSSON  
Sd. P. S. EASWARAN  
Sd. PERCY KNIGHT  
Sd. EMORY BACON  
Sd. B. N. DATAR

Sd. S. KANNAPPAN  
NEW DELHI :  
28th March 1957.

## APPENDIX A

PRESS NOTE ISSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON FEBRUARY 1, 1957, ANNOUNCING  
THE APPOINTMENT OF THE TEAM ON WORKERS' EDUCATION.

In the recommendations on labour policy in the Second Five year Plan emphasis has been placed on workers' education. Workers are to be trained in trade union philosophy and methods as also in the methods of management so that they can develop their organisations and take an effective part in the Joint Councils of Management to be set up in industrial undertakings.

2. To advise them in formulating detailed schemes to cover all aspects of workers' education, the Government of India have appointed a Team of Experts in co-operation with The Ford Foundation. The Team consist of the following :—

- (i) Mr. Anthony Luchek, Professor of Industrial Relations and Director, Labour Education Service, the Pennsylvania State University.
- (ii) Mr. Emery Bacon, Director of Education, United Steel Workers of America.
- (iii) Mr. Knut Larsson, formerly President of the Swedish Wood-workers' Union.
- (iv) Mr. Percy Knight, Trades Union Congress, Britain, and Ex-Assistant General Secretary, National Union of Seamen, United Kingdom.
- (v) Father A. Fonseca of the Social Institute, Poona.
- (vi) Shri A. S. Iyengar, retired Labour Commissioner, Government of Bombay.
- (vii) Shri P. S. Easwaran, Chief Labour Commissioner, Government of India.
- (viii) Shri B.N. Datar, Director, Labour and Employment Division, Planning Commission.

3. The Team is to make concrete proposals regarding :—

- (i) education of union representatives in the principles and techniques of trade union organisation, management and financing ;
- (ii) education of union members for intelligent participation in union affairs and for the better performance of their duties as citizens; and
- (iii) education of union representatives in responsible and effective participation in management ;
- (iv) other general aspects of workers' education.

4. The Team of Experts will first meet in Delhi during the first week of February and have preliminary discussions with the Ministers for Labour and Planning, officers of the Ministry of Labour and representatives of the employers' and workers' organisations. During the next four weeks it will visit different industrial centres like Calcutta, Jamshedpur, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Indore, Banaras, Madras, and Bangalore and hold discussions with local trade unions, employers' organisations, educational institutions interested in labour education and State Government officers connected with trade unions. On return from this tour the Team will submit its report. The Team's report is proposed to be discussed in a Seminar in the last week of March.

## APPENDIX B

### QUESTIONNAIRE ISSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT

#### *A. Basic Programme*

1. What should be aims of such a programme?
  - (a) Knowledge of the workers' role in the coming society?
  - (b) Knowledge of the workers' rights under the existing laws and their duties?
  - (c) Knowledge of trade union methods and principles?
  - (d) Knowledge of the environment including basic knowledge of the machinery etc.?
2. Should there be different courses for literate workers and illiterate ones?
3. What should be the exact syllabus of these programmes?
4. How best can the course for illiterate workers be dovetailed into the existing programme for adult or social education?
5. What should be the duration of the courses—how many hours per day or week and for how many weeks?
6. Where should the courses be organised? —in factory premises or outside?
7. Should the courses be run during working hours or outside the working hours?
8. What should be the normal size of a class and how many teachers would be necessary for running a class?
9. What media should be used for instruction? (books, pamphlets etc., lectures, talks, discussions; audio-visual aids particularly, for those lacking literacy)?
10. How are the teachers to be selected and trained? Would it be advisable to prepare detailed lectures and talks centrally and get them rendered into regional languages for the use of the teachers who may lack training?
11. What should be the contribution of the employers to the success of any such scheme? —provision of premises and equipment? Allowing time off with wages for attending classes? Maintaining the teacher or teachers?
12. On what principles should undertakings be selected for starting the programme?
13. Should the experimental schemes be started first in the public sector?
14. In which way are the workers to contribute to the success of the scheme? Purchase of books, stationery etc.?
15. What should be the contribution of Government and employers—in what shape and to whom should it be made?

#### *B. Training in Trade Union Philosophy and Administration*

16. What should be the exact syllabus for such a course?
17. What should be the duration of this course?
18. What should be the minimum qualifications for selecting candidates for such a course?
19. How should such persons be selected: on the nomination of trade unions?—on the nomination of employers?
20. Should such persons be already in employment and/or engaged in trade union activities?

21. If in employment, how are they to be compensated for the loss of earnings during the period of training?

22. Should they have a right to return to their old posts after the training period?

23. How should employers contribute to this scheme—by allowing leave for the period of training at a reduced rate of pay?

24. Should Government contribution take the shape of stipends for maintenance or compensation for the loss of earnings, during the period of training and payments of grant-in-aid to institutions arranging for such training?

25. What principles should be followed in selecting such institutions?

### *C. Training for Participation in Management*

26. What should be the syllabus for such training and what should be its duration?

27. Should this training be limited to those who are already in employment and are active trade unionists?

28. Is it possible to combine this training with the scheme envisaged under 'B' above and operate it on the same basis and through the same agency?

29. If not, in what other alternative way can it be organised?



# APPENDIX C

## PROGRAMME RECORD

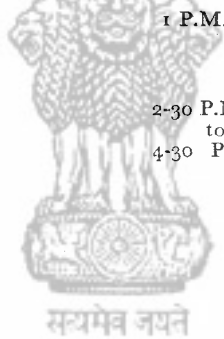
### NEW DELHI

1. Monday . 4th February '57. . 9-30 A.M. Interview with the Planning Minister, Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda.
2. . 10-30 A.M. Interview with Shri Vishnu Sahay, Secretary, Ministry of Labour.
3. . 12 Noon . Interview with the representatives of the Ministry of Communications.
4. . 4-15 P.M. Interview with Shri Bhat and Shri D. Trivedi of I.N.T.U.C. Office, Delhi.
- \*5. Tuesday . 5th February '57. . 10-30 A.M. Interview with Shri Y. P. Kulkarni, Director (Establishment) Railway Board.
6. . Interview with Shri Vishnu Sahay, Secretary and Shri P. M. Menon, Joint Secretary Ministry of Labour.
- \*7. . 12-15 P.M. Interview with Shri Lall, General Manager and Mr. Shikar, Labour Officer, Delhi State Transport.
- \*8. . 4 P.M. . Interview with representatives of All India Organization of Industrial Employers.
9. Wednesday 6th February '57. . 11 A.M. . Interview with the representatives of the Ministry of Education.
10. . 12 Noon . Interview with the representatives of the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply.
- \*11. . 3-30 P.M. Interview with the representatives of Delhi State Transport Workers' Union Shri Eshwar Singh and Shri Hari Singh.
12. . 5 P.M. . Interview with the Officials of I.C.F.T.U. at I.C.F.T.U. Headquarters, New Delhi.
13. . 6 P.M. . Visit to Delhi Railway Yards.



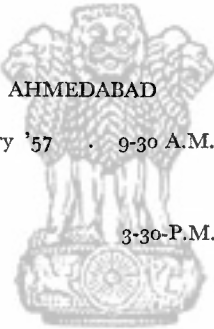
## INDORE

14. Thursday . 7th February '57. . 5 P.M. . Visit to:  
to  
8-30 P.M. (1) The Nanda Nagar Housing Colony Health, Centre, and Primary Schools of the Madhya Pradesh Government at Indore.
- (2) Women's Tailoring Class, Women's Adult Education Centre and Ambar Charkha Centre run by the Indore Mill Mazdoor Sangh (Indore Textile Labour Association); and
- (3) Sharma Shivir (Labour Camp) Indore I.N. T.U.C. and Indore Textile Labour Association Headquarters.
15. Friday . 8th February '57. . 9-30 A.M. Visit to :  
to  
1 P.M. (1) Patnipura Slum Area, and  
(2) Central Training Institute of the Kasturba Trust, Indore.
16. . 2-30 P.M. Meeting with the representative members of the Public. Those present included Shri D. V. Rege, I.C.S. (Rêtd.) Chairman, P.S.C., Madhya Pradesh, Indore. (2) Shri Ramrao, Joint Secretary, Indore Mill Mazdoor Sangh, Indore. (3) Shri G. B. Zalani, Secretary, Madhya Pradesh Mill owners' Association, Indore. (4) Shri A. J. Karmarkar, Advocate, Indore.
17. . 5 P.M. . Tea given by team to workers' representatives and Public.
18. . 6 P.M. . Mr. Luchek addressed local civic groups.
19. . 7 P.M. . Mr Larsson addressed a meeting of the members of the Indore Textile Labour Association.
20. Saturday . 9th February '57. . Visit to Mandu.
21. Sunday . 10th February '57 . 9 A.M. . Interview with Hon'ble Shri V. V. Dravid.
22. . Afternoon Interview with Shri Chandan Singh, Bharkatia, Managing Director, Indore, Malwa United Mills Ltd., Indore.



## BOMBAY

23. Monday . 11th February '57 . 10 A.M. . Interview with Shri Bagaram Tulpule, General Secretary, Hind Mazdoor Sabha. (2) Shri Ram Desai, Member of the Working Committee of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha.
24. 11-30 A.M. Meeting with the representatives of Bombay Millowners' Association. Those present included (1) Sir John Burns' Chairman. (2) Mr. N. S. V' Aiyer, Secretary.
25. 2-30 P.M. Interview with the Hon'ble Shri Shanti Lal Shah Minister for Education and Law.
26. 4-30 P.M. Interview with Mr. Dongerkerry, Rector of the University, Bombay.
- \*27. 6 P.M. . Interview with the representatives of All India Manufacturers Organisation.
28. Evening . Visit to the Marathi Class in the Bombay University Extension Programme for Workers' Education.
- \*29. Tuesday . 12th February '57 . 10 A.M. . Interview with the representatives of the Engineering Association of India and Employers' Federation of India. Among those present were (1) Shri S. A. Narielwala, General Manager, Tata Oil Mills Co. Ltd. (2) Shri M. De Mello, Secretary, Engineering Association of India. (3) Shri N. M. Vakil, Deputy Secretary, Employers' Federation of India. (4) Shri P. R. Deshpande, Chairman, Labour Affairs, Sub-Committee Chamber of Commerce.
30. 11-30 A.M. Interview with Shri G. H. Kale and Mr. S. Maitra of the U.T.U.C.
31. 3-30 P.M. Interview with the representatives of the Bombay Branch of the I.N.T.U.C. and Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh Bombay.
- Among those present were:  
(1) Shri Ranade, Joint Secretary, INTUC. (2) Shri H. N. Trivedi, Joint Secretary, INTUC. (3) Shri Jaywant, Secretary, Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh

- \*32. Tuesday . 12th February '57 . 5-45 P.M. Interview with Shri C.Thomas, Welfare Commissioner, Bombay, Labour Welfare Board.
33. Wednesday . 13th February '57 . Forenoon Visit to Aarey Milk Colony.
- \*34. 12 Noon . Interview with (1) Prof. Wadia, Director, (2) Dr. Punekar, & (3) Dr. Murthy, The Tata Institute of Social Sciences.
- \*35. 3 P.M. . Interview with the representatives of the Institute for Labour Welfare Work, Bombay.
- Among those present were  
(1) Dr. A. V. R. Rao, M.A. Ph.D., Principal, &  
(2) Shri A. N. Likhale, M.A. LL.B., Lecturer.
- \*36. 5 P.M. . Interview with the representatives of the Bombay City Social Education Committee.
-   
AHMEDABAD
- \*37. Thursday . 14th February '57 . 9-30 A.M. Visit to Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad. (Mr. Somnath P. Dave).
- \*38. 3-30-P.M. Interview with the representatives of Ahmedabad Textile Industrial Research Association. Dr. Kamla Chowdhury and Dr. Trivedi of Atira were present.
39. 5-25 P.M. Interview with, Shri Harsidhbhai Divatia Vice-Chancellor, Gujrat University and Dr. Shenoy, Director, Department of Social Services, Gujrat University.
40. 5-30 P.M. Talk at Atira By Messrs Knight and Bacon.
41. Friday . 15th February '57 . 10 A.M. . Visit to Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad. (Mr. Somnath P. Dave and Mr. Shankerlal Banker); later a brief meeting with Shri Khandubhai Desai Minister for Labour.
42. 4 P.M. . Interview with the representatives of Ahmedabad Mill-owners' Association.
- Those present included Mr. Surottam Bhai Huthi Singh  
(2) Mr. Madan Mohan Mangaldas.



## BANGALORE

43. Saturday . 16th February '57 . 4-15 P.M. Interview with the officials of Hindustan Aircraft Co. Ltd.
- Among those present were  
(1) Mr. Srinagesh, I.C.S., Managing Director, & Mr. Zampo, Lino, Factory Manager.
44. Sunday . 17th February '57 . 3 P.M. . Trip to Mysore—Chamundi Hills, Brindavan, etc.
- Interview with the representatives of various Trade Unions at Mysore.
45. Monday . 18th February '57 . 9-45 P.M. Interview with the Officials of the Indian Telephone Industries Ltd.
- Among those present was  
Shri Jagdish Prasad, I.C.S., Managing Director.
46. . 3 P.M. . Interview with the representatives of I.N.T.U.C., Hind Mazdoor Sabha, A. I.T.U.C. & other Trade Unions.
- Those present included (1) Shri K. Kannan, President, H.M.S., Mysore State, (2) Shri M. S. Krishnan, Joint Secretary, Karnatak Provincial Trade Union Congress, (3) Shri C. J. Devanath, President Beedi Mazdoor Association, Mysore, and (4) G. V. Ramachar, President, Mysore I.N.T.U.C.
47. . 5 P.M. . Tea given by team to Mysore trade union representatives.
48. . 6 P.M. . Interview with the Employers representatives.
- Among those present were  
(1) Shri G. N. Krishnamurthy Secretary, Mysore Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Bangalore, (2) Shri M. A. Rao, President, Bangalore Trades Association, and (3) Shri M. Ismail Sheriff, Director of Personnel, Associated Planters, Mysore, Bangalore.
49. Tuesday . 19th February '57 . Forenoon . Visit to Kolar Gold Field Nandydroog Mines.



50. Tuesday 3-30 P.M. Interview with the representatives of the Managements of Kolar Gold Mines at Kolar Gold Fields.
- Among those present were (1) Mr. S. Muninanjappa, I.A.S., Managing Director, (2) Mr. Dunlop, Chief Electrical Engineer and (3) Mr. Sunder Rajan, Superintendent, Nandydroog Mine.
51. 5 P.M. Interview with the representatives of Trade Unions at Kolar Gold Fields. Those present included (1) K. B. Thimmayya, President, Nandydroog, Mine Labour Association, (2) Shri G. Rajagopaul, President, Mysore Mine Labour Association, and (3) Shri V. M. Govindan, President, Mysore Mine Workers' Union, and K. S. Vasau, Secretary.
52. Wednesday 20th February '57 11 A.M. Interview with the officials of the Government of Mysore.
- Those present included (1) Shri S. A. L. Razvi, I.A.S., Secretary, L.S.G., P.H. & Labour Departments, (2) Shri B. S. Srin kantayya, I.A.S., Deputy Secretary, P. W. D. & Electrical Department and (3) Shri B. M. Abu Baker, I.A.S., Commissioner of Labour.
53. Thursday 21st February '57 10 A.M. Interview with the Registrar of the University of Madras.
54. 12 Noon Interview with the Official of the Government of Madras
- Those present included (1) Mr. C. G. Reddy, Secretary Industries, Labour and Co-operation, (2) Mr. V. Balasundaram, Commissioner of Labour, Madras.
55. 3-15 P.M. Interview with the representatives of Trade Unions in Madras.
- Among those present were (1) Mr. S. C. Anthony Pillai, Madras Labour Union, (2) Mr. T. S. Ramanujam, Postal and Match Workers' Union, (3) Mr. T. R. Ganesan, All India Trade Union Congress, Madras and (4) Mr. Ramanathan, UTUC.

56. Friday . 22nd February '57 . 9-30 A.M. Visit to Integral Coach Factory at Perambur and discussion with Mr. K. Sadagopan, Chief Administrative Officer.
57. . 3-30 P.M. Interview with the representatives of Employers' Federation of Southern India and the Small Scale Industries Association, Madras.
- Among those present were  
 (1) Mr. R. J. Edwards, Vice Chairman, Employers' Federation of Southern India,  
 (2) Mr. F. W. A. Morris, Secretary Employers' Federation of Southern India,  
 (3) Mr. B. K. Sanker, Vice President, Small Scale Industries Association, and (4) Mr. N. I. Mathur, Hony. General Secretary, Small Scale Industries Association.
58. Saturday . 23rd February '57 . 10 A.M. Interview with Father Jerome De Souza and Father Thomas Joseph, Director, Madras School of Labour Relations.
- \*59. . 11-30 A.M. Interview with Mrs. Clubwala Jadhav and Mr. P. T. Thomas Director of the Madras School of Social Work.
60. . 5 P.M. . Talk by Members of Team, Madras Institute of Management. Indian Institute of Personnel.
61. . 7 P.M. . Father Fonseca's visit to Madras School of Social Work and meeting with Mr. Thomas, the Director.
62. . Night . Prof. Anthony Lucchek's meeting with Prof. Krishna Rao of Madras University.
63. Sunday . 24th February '57 . 8-30 A.M. Interview with the Hon'ble Shri M. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Minister for Labour, Government of Madras.

## CALCUTTA

64. Monday . 25th February '57 . . Interview with the Hon'ble Labour Minister, Shri Kali Pada Mukerjee and the Hon'ble Chief Minister, Dr. B. C. Roy of the Government of West Bengal.
65. . 2 P.M. . Interview with Mr. R. D. Z. Trivedi and Mr. B. D. Sharma of the Engineering Association of India.
66. . 3 P.M. . Interview with Shri R. M. Sengupta and Shri M. M. Shore of Bengal Chambers of Commerce.

67. 4 P.M. . Interview with the Indian Tea Association represented by Mr. J. L. Llewellyn, Deputy Chairman and Mr. H. J. Walsh, Additional Adviser.
68. Tuesday . 26th February '57 . 9-30 A.M. Visit to I.C.F.T.U. College, Calcutta.
69. 11-30 A.M. Interview with the Vice Chancellor, Calcutta University.
70. 12-30 P.M. Interview with Shri D. K. Sanyal, Director, All India Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management, Calcutta University.
71. 3-30 P.M. Interview with Mr. Mathur of I.C.F.T.U. Asian Trade Union College, Calcutta.
- 6 P.M. . Management, Calcutta—Talk by Father Fonseca and Mr. Luchek.
72. 6 P.M. . Visit to Workers' Education Centre, I.C.F.T.U.
73. Wednesday . 27th February '57 . 2-30 P.M. Interview and tea with the representatives of Trade Unions.
- Among those present were  
 (1) Shri T. N. Siddhanta, Assistant Secretary, AITUC,  
 (2) Shri A. C. Banerjee, Vice President, H.M.S., (3) Shri J. Chakraverty from U.T.U.C., and (4) Shri A. Mitra representative of the I.N.T.U.C.



## TATA NAGAR

74. Thursday . 28th February '57 . Forenoon . Visit to Factories at Jamshedpur.
75. 1 P.M. . Lunch to team by Tata Workers' Union.
76. 3 P.M. . Interview with Employers' representatives.
- Among those present were  
 (1) Shri J. V. Talcharker, Executive Officer, Tata Loco & Engineering Co. Ltd.,  
 (2) Shri I. M. Pai, Secretary, Indian Steel and Wire Products Ltd., and (3) Shri S. C. Joshi, Director of Personnel, Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd.
77. 4-15 P.M. Interview with the representatives of the Unions at Jamshedpur.

77. Thursday . . . . . Among those present were  
(1) Shri R. K. Panchya,  
General Secretary, Indexce,  
Labour Union, Indranagar,  
Jamshedpur, and (2) Shri  
K. S. R. Murthy, Asstt.  
Secy., Indian Steel and Wire  
Products, Indranagar.
78. Thursday 28th February '57 5 P.M. . Interview with Sir Jehangir  
Ghandy, Director-in-Charge,  
Tata Iron & Steel Co.
79. . . . . 6-20 P.M. . Interview with the staff of  
Xavier Labour Relations In-  
stitute.
- Among those present, were  
(1) Father Inright. (2)  
Dr. Ram Singh, Anthro-  
pologist and (3) Alumni  
of X. L. R. I. College who  
are office bearers of the  
'Tata Workers' Union.
80. . . . . 8 P.M. . Dinner given by team to  
representatives of Unions,  
educational institutions and  
Government.
81. Friday . 1st March '57 . . 9-30 A.M. . Interview with the represen-  
tatives of the Tata Workers'  
Union.
- Among those present were  
(1) Shri V. G. Gopal, General  
Secretary, Tata Workers'  
Union. (2) Shri T. P. Sinha,  
Vice President, Tata Wor-  
kers' Union, (3) Shri  
S. P. Singh, Union's Spokes-  
man, West Plant Works Com-  
mittee, and (4) Shri Sena-  
pati, Secretary, (Supervisors  
and Technicians Unit).
82. . . . . 1 P.M. . Lunch to team by Employers.

### MAITHON, CHITTARANJAN, DHANBAD, SINDRI

#### MAITHON

83. Saturday 2nd March '57 . . Forenoon . Visit to Dam Site at Maithon  
of Damodar Valley Cor-  
poration (D.V.C.).

#### CHITTARANJAN

- \*84. Saturday 2nd March '57 . . Afternoon . Visit to Chittaranjan Loco-  
motive Works.

#### MAITHON

85. Sunday 3rd March '57 . . 9 A.M. . Interview with D.V.C. Staff  
Association represented by  
Mr. S. R. Sen Gupta,  
General Secretary, and Mr.  
Niranjan Chakravorty, Vice  
President.

- \*86. 11 A.M. . Interview with D.V.C. Officials.  
 87. 2 P.M. . Departure for Dhanbad.

## DHANBAD

88. 4-30 P.M. Tea with Workers' and Management representatives.  
 89. 6-30 P.M. Cultural Show.  
 90. 8-30 P.M. Dinner with Workers, Management and Government representatives.  
 91. Monday . 4th March '57 . . 9 A.M. to 1 P.M. Tour of Coal Mines giving quarters, welfare institutes, and Tata (Jamadoba) colliery.

## SINDRI

92. 2-30 P.M. to 4-30 P.M. Tour of Sindri Fertilizer Factory.  
 93. Monday 5 P.M. . Interview with the representatives of the Sindri Fertilizer Factory represented by Shri S. M. Wasi, Public Relations Officer, Shri P. C. Chakravorthy, Personnel Director and others.  
 94. 6-50 P.M. Tour of Sindri Township, Hospital and Kalyan Kandra.  
 95. 7 P.M. . Interview with Sindri Fertilizer Factory Workers' Union represented, among others, by Shri Shiv Chandrika, President, and Shri B. N. Ojha, Vice President.

## BENARAS

97. Tuesday . 5th March '57 . . 9-30 A.M. Banaras Employers, Association, talk by overseas members of the team at Rotary Club.  
 98. 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. Visit to Sarnath Temple.  
 99. 3-30 P.M. to 4-30 P.M. Tea with His Highness the Maharaja of Banaras, Proprietor of Vibhuti Glass Works.  
 100. 5 P.M. . Interview with the Hon'ble Dr. Sampurnanand, Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh.  
 101. 6 P.M. . Visit to Ganges Bank.  
 102. Wednesday . 6th March '57 . . 9-30 A.M. Interview with the staff members of Kashi Vidhyapith.

Those present included (1) Prof. Raja Ram Shastri Head of the Institute, and (2) Shri C. S. Asthana, Lecturer and Registrar.

103. Wednesday . 6th March '57 . . 2-30 P.M. Tour of Banaras University, Tea and Interview with Dr. V. S. Jha, Vice Chancellor, and other professors.

#### KANPUR

104. Thursday . 7th March '57 . . 10-30 A. M. Interview with Labour Leaders of Kanpur—Those present included Messrs. S. P. Avasthi, J. C. Director (INTUC) & G. S. C. Havhey and Arjun Arora (Suti Mill Mazdoor Sabha).
- \*105. 11-50 A.M. Interview with the officials of the Labour Department, Government of Uttar Pradesh.
- Among those present were (1) Shri D. D. Pande, Secretary, Labour Department and (2) Shri O. N. Misra, Labour Commissioner.
106. 1 P.M. . Lunch given by Sir J. P. Shrivastava, and discussions with employers.
107. 4-30 P.M. Tea given by Shri Jaipuria, Swadeshi Mills Director, and discussions with employers and government officials.
108. 8 P.M. . Dinner at Kamta Retreat given by Shri Singhavia and discussions.

#### LUCKNOW

109. Friday . 8th March '57 . . 10-30 A.M. Interview with Dr. R. K. Mukerjee, Vice Chancellor of Lucknow University.
110. 11-40 A.M. Interview with Dr. Balbir Singh, Director J. K. Institute, Lucknow.
111. 2-30 P.M. Visit to Art Institute.
112. Saturday . 9th March '57 . . Forenoon . Sight seeing at Lucknow. Visit to the Residency.

#### NEW DELHI

113. Monday . 11th March '57 . . 10-30 A.M. Meeting with Shri Vishnu Sahay, Secretary, Ministry of Labour.  
(Shri P. M. Menon, Joint Secretary and Mr. Hilliard of the Ford Foundation were also present.)

114. Friday & Saturday	25th & 26th '57 . . . . .	Visit to Agra—Taj Mahal, etc.
115. Monday	18th March '57 . . . 8-30 P.M.	Dinner given to the team by Her Excellency, Mrs. Alva Myrdal, Ambassador of Sweden.
116. Wednesday	20th, 21st, 22nd March '57 . . . . .	SEMINAR, including tea by Shri Kandhubhai Desai, the Union Minister for Labour on March 22nd at 6 P.M.
117. Wednesday	20th March '57 . . . 5-35 P.M.	INTERVIEW WITH SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA.
118. Sunday	24th March '57 . . . 4 P.M.	Farewell tea to team given by Shri Vishnu Sahay, the Secretary to the Ministry of Labour—Visit to Red Fort, accompanied by the Sahay family.
119. Wednesday	27th March '57 . . . 8 P.M.	Farewell Dinner to team given by Mr. Hilliard Ford Foundation.
120. Thursday	28th March '57 . . . . .	Signing of Final Report.

\* Refers to organisations which have replied to the Questionnaire issued by the Government of India or have furnished written statements.

NOTE:—The views of the following organisations have also been obtained through the replies to the questionnaire or written statements furnished by them:—

1. Joint Secretary, Ministry of Defence, Government of India.
2. Department of Labour and Social Work, Patna University.
3. Employers' Association of Northern India.
4. Commissioner of Labour, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
5. Commissioner of Labour, Madhya Pradesh, Indore.
6. Controller of Printing, Printing and Stationery Deptt, Government of India, New Delhi.
7. Director of Training, Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment, New Delhi.
8. Delhi School of Social Work, Delhi.



## APPENDIX D

### QUESTIONS FRAMED FOR THE SEMINAR

In order to ascertain all points of view from trade unions, employers, educational institutions and Government, the Team submits the questions listed below as a basis for discussion at the seminar. The questions listed seek to cover the term of reference. It will be observed that certain questions relate particularly to specific groups and will form the basis for major emphasis within those groups. While each of the groups enumerated will have separate meetings there will be a final plenary session to relate and summarise the advice of all the seminar participants.

#### *Question No. 1*

*What should be the Goal of Workers' Education in India?*

- (a) Establishing properly administered democratic trade unions with capable leadership developed from within?
- (b) Understanding of economic problems of industry—both public and private?
- (c) Obtaining maximum production of goods and services?
- (d) Securing of higher standard of living?

#### *Question No. 2*

*How should the programme of Workers' Education be administered?*

- (a) Should a Central Board be established? If so, through legislation or otherwise?
- (b) Should regional—State and/or local boards be established?
- (c) Who should serve on the various Boards? How should the members be selected?
- (d) What functions should the Boards perform?

#### *Question No. 3*

*Who should be eligible to attend the Educational Programmes?*

- (a) Should classes be provided in the basic functions of trade unionism for those who can neither read nor write?
- (b) Should the programmes be restricted to trade union members alone?
- (c) Should persons other than these engaged—currently or in the past—in the industry, i.e., outsiders, be eligible to participate?
- (d) Should any eligible worker be permitted to apply directly for admission or should trade unions be given the sole power to nominate?
- (e) Who should make the final selection?

#### *Question No. 4*

*What range of courses and subject matter should be included in the Programme?*

- (a) What kind of education programmes should be provided for—
  - (i) rank and file,
  - (ii) representatives of workers in union councils,
  - (iii) office bearers,
  - (iv) full-time staff members, and
  - (v) top leadership.
- (b) Should the purpose and goal of the trade union movement constitute the basic course?
- (c) Should the subsequent course illustrate how a trade union achieves its purpose?
- (d) Should a further course be in collective bargaining and participation in management?
- (e) What further courses and classes should be provided?

*Question No. 5**How should teachers be selected and trained?*

- (a) What qualifications should be required of teachers for trade union education?
- (b) Should teachers be selected primarily from educators and/or trade unionists?
- (c) Should separate institutions be set up for teachers' training? and, if so, how should they be integrated with the rest of the training programme?

*Question No. 6**What should be the techniques of Instruction ?*

- (a) What is the best manner of training workers—by seminars, informal discussions, lectures, audio-visual aids, correspondence, etc.?
- (b) What value do practice sessions and field trips have in this educational pattern?

*Question No. 7**What teaching materials are required and how should they be developed?*

- (a) What materials are at present available?
- (b) What materials are needed immediately?
- (c) Who can aid in the development of materials ?
- (d) How far must materials be developed and written in regional languages, Hindi and English.

*Question No. 8**Through what agencies should worker's education be conducted?*

- (a) Should a Labour College be created and if so, where?
- (b) Should regional State and local level Labour Schools be established, and if so, where?
- (c) How should universities, colleges, educational institutions and other agencies like labour welfare centres, be utilised for the programme?
- (d) Should classes be established in trade union halls and workers' colonies?
- (e) Should unions establish their own classes through education committees or departments created by them?

*Question No. 9**What should be the target date for commencement for each Phase of the Programme?*

- (a) What programmes can be immediately inaugurated considering the physical facilities and teaching staff now available?
- (b) How soon can a teacher-administrator training programme be started? Who should be the trainees?
- (c) What priorities should be given to the development of materials in the regional languages and the production of audio-visual aids?

*Question No. 10**How should workers' education be financed?*

- (a) The Central Government having supplied the initial funds, who should be responsible for providing the necessary finance to continue and expand the workers' education programme?
- (b) Should release time with pay be granted by employers to enable union members to attend educational programmes?
- (c) What contribution, if any, should State Governments, unions, participating workers, participating educational institutions and other agencies make?

## APPENDIX E

### SEMINAR ON WORKERS' EDUCATION

(March 20th, 21st and 22nd)

I. The Seminar on Workers' Education was held in New Delhi from March 20th to 22nd, 1957. The Seminar was organised into five sessions, two with trade unions (20th March—9-30 A. M. to 1 P. M. and 22nd March—9-30 A. M. to 12 noon), one with employers representing the public and private sectors (20th March—3 P. M. to 5 P. M.), one with educational institutions (21st March—10 A. M. to 12-30 p.m.) and one with representatives of the Central and State Governments. There was also a Plenary Session with all of these groups on 22nd March, 1957 (from 2-30 to 5-45 P.M.) when the Labour Minister also addressed the delegates to the Seminar.

II. The Seminar Session was attended by the representatives of the following organisations:—

- (1) Trade Unions . . . Indian National Trade Union Congress;  
Hind Mazdoor Sabha;  
All India Trade Union Congress;  
National Federation of Railwaymen;  
Posts and Telegraphs Union; and  
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.
- (2) Educational Institutions. (a) The Universities of Madras, Calcutta, Lucknow, Patna and Kashi Vidyapith.  
(b) Other institutions represented were:  
    (i) Madras School of Labour Relations, Madras;  
    (ii) Asian Trade Union College, Calcutta;  
    (iii) All India Institute of Business Management and Social Welfare, Calcutta;  
    (iv) Xavier Labour Relations Institute, Jamshedpur;  
    (v) Tata School of Social Sciences, Bombay; and  
    (vi) Bombay City Social Education Committee, Bombay.  
(c) Ministry of Education.
- (3) Employers . . . All India Organisation of Industrial Employers;  
Employers' Federation of India; and  
All India Manufacturers' Organisation.

The public sector was represented by delegates from Sindri Fertilizers Factory, Sindri, Damodar Valley Corporation, Maithon, and representatives of the Railway Board and the Ministries of Communications and Iron and Steel.

- (4) Governments . . . Rajasthan, Madras, Punjab, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and the Central Government Ministries.
- (5) Others . . . General invitations were issued to the Ford Foundation, International Labour Organisation and the Labour Attaches of the United Kingdom and the United States of America. The Ministry of Labour of the Government of India was represented throughout.

III. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Director of the Delhi School of Economics served as General Chairman for the entire Seminar. The discussions with each of the particular groups were, however, under the responsibility of a discussions leader aided by two "presenters", who were all chosen from the Team. The discussion leader assumed responsibility for the conduct of the Seminar during the working sessions. The "presenters" introduced the major questions on which the Team wished to concentrate. There was a rotation of responsibility for discussion leadership as well as for the role of presenters so that by the end of the five sessions all members had an opportunity to take an active role in the discussions. The division of responsibility generally followed the line of expressed preference and special background of the individual member of the Team.

The above procedure was followed in respect of all Sessions except the Plenary Session, when there was only a representative selected by each of the four groups invited to the Seminar who indicated the consensus of his particular groups. There was only a brief discussion at this stage, in order to allow certain supplementary points to be raised. A more detailed reference to the Plenary Session may now be given.

IV. (1) Dr. Rao read the following message from the Prime Minister:

"I send my greetings and good wishes to the seminar on Workers' Education. I think the subject of the discussion is of considerable importance. At any time this would be so, but, more particularly in India on the eve of rapid industrialisation. If we give sound foundations now to our trade union movements, this will be good for the workers as well as for others. I wish the seminar every success".

(2) Shri Khandubhai Desai, the Minister for Labour, delivered the opening address.

In his address Shri Khandubhai Desai made the following points :—

- (i) The end in view is the building up of strong and healthy trade union movement, conscious of its rights and responsibilities. In a democratic society, planning for economic development, the trade union movement "has a destiny for itself as a major partner in this whole scheme of economic and social progress";
- (ii) The Ministry of Labour attaches great value to the tripartite tradition, which ensures that the community's interests are safeguarded. The Seminar and the work of the Team are in keeping with this tradition.
- (iii) Although we want our trade unions to play a major role in our economic and social development, the same way they have played a major role in the struggle for national freedom, it is important that we appreciate the weakness of the Indian labour movement as it exists to-day. Yet there is room for optimism. In the past the so-called "outsiders" served the labour movement well. They still do so. Yet it is appropriate that we encourage the rise of leadership from ranks of the workers themselves. Referring to the rise in literacy rates in Indian industrial cities, the Minister concluded :

"a programme of workers' education in India should, in my mind, be conceived in such a manner as to utilise the Potential of the Indian worker's innate commonsense whether he be literate or illiterate".

- (iv) Regarding participation in management, the Minister stressed that the Government does not wish to follow any doctrinaire or set approach. However, he emphasised the importance of such participation in a socialistic society. He drew special attention to the significance of such participation in view of the growing importance of the public sector.

Undoubtedly, this cannot be accomplished overnight. But a beginning must be made and it must be in the right direction, "as the process of education which will make the worker an effective participant will take time to mature". He said, "After all, education has to be a continuous process. There is a long way to go between what we see today and the picture that we have in mind for the trade union movement ten years hence, and the sooner we get on the move the better".

- (v) The Minister concluded with an exhortation to all concerned to continue to take an interest in the movement for workers' education. He stressed that "ultimately progress in this development depends on the co-operation of all of you and especially the representatives of the trade unions and the members they represent".

(3) The representatives of the four groups, trade unions, employers, educational institutions and central and provincial Governments, presented summary reports of the proceedings during their respective sessions. After a brief discussion in which several assembled representatives of labour, management and educational institutions participated, Dr. Rao gave his concluding remarks.

(4) (i) Dr. Rao furnished certain statistical data to illustrate the importance of the wage earning group in the country's economy. Approximately 9 to 10 million workers are in urban areas, and of these almost four millions are in the public sector.

(ii) The growing importance of the public sector and the objective of a socialistic pattern of society, which has been accepted by all groups as national policy, made it imperative that the trade union movement develops strength. This development is necessary, to ensure that even as the country must plan, the democratic ideal is preserved. Workers' education in India should be viewed both in the context of a planned and socialistic economy and the democratic ideal.

(iii) He proceeded to comment upon the subject of Workers' Education, with particular reference to the proceedings in the Seminar. He expressed his disappointment that the trade unions themselves has not come forward to contribute to the cause of union education. He felt that universities have an important role to play here, and that the gulf between the universities and the trade union movement should be narrowed. In this connection he stressed the importance for the trade union movement of the value of neutral exponents for their cause.

(5) Mr. Percy Knight, speaking on behalf of the team, thanked the Prime Minister for his ennobling message and the Minister for Labour, the Chairman and various other persons who had helped in the work of this Team. He said that the Team, and especially the overseas members, were interested only in telescoping the tortuous process which the trade union movements in foreign countries had gone through before they arrived at their present stage of development.

(6) Shri Vishnu Sahay, Secretary of the Ministry of Labour, proposed a vote of thanks to the members of the Team, and especially to the overseas guests. He also expressed the Labour Ministers' and his appreciation of the services rendered by the General Chairman, Dr. Rao.



## APPENDIX F

### LABOUR MINISTER'S SPEECH AT THE

#### *Plenary Session of the Seminar*

FRIENDS,

I welcome you all to this Plenary Session of the three-day Seminar during which the 8-Man Team on Workers' Education, appointed by the Government of India has had discussions with you—the representatives of trade unions, employers in the public and private sectors, educational institutions and the State Governments.

As one responsible for assembling the team, I wish to acknowledge my Government's appreciation of the Ford Foundation's services in helping us secure four distinguished visitors from overseas—experienced trade unionists from the United States, the United Kingdom and Sweden. We are conscious that our overseas friends are busy in their own countries in national building activities. Our particular thanks should go to the organisations which have spared them and also to the experts individually who travelled thousands of miles purely with a view to assisting us in this constructive endeavour. I am sure the inconveniences which they and their Indian colleagues might have suffered during their tour and stay here will be forgotten by them in the fruitfulness of the work they have done.

As for you, delegates of this Seminar, I am indeed grateful that so many of you could find time to participate in these discussions. I am sure you will find them informative and useful, as all such exchanges of views are, among persons who have only one end in view. In this case, it is the building of a strong and healthy trade union movement, conscious of its rights and responsibilities.

In this country, we have embarked, as our Prime Minister has described it in his own inimitable words, on a mighty adventure. The Second and subsequent Five Year Plans envisage schemes of economic development with a specific social purpose consistent with the objectives of a welfare State. We are embarking on a rapid programme of industrialisation. We in this country lay great stress not only on the development itself but the means, democratic means, that have to be used in its very process. The trade union movement which stands for industrial democracy, therefore, has a destiny for itself as major partner in this whole scheme of economic and social progress.

It is with this aim that the Government of India took the important step of appointing this 8-Man Team to report on the position of workers' education in India today and to recommend programmes for development with specific reference to education in trade unionism for the rank and file of members as well as for the Indian leadership. The Team was appointed early in February. The Team has since then visited the major industrial and educational centres in the country with a view to acquainting itself with the developments in this field in India. It has held discussions with representative groups of trade unions, employers, educational institutions and various Governmental authorities concerned. Some of the members have also examined, in the short time at their disposal, the working and living conditions of labour in India. Realising the vastness of the country and the importance of the responsibility entrusted to the Team, the Team proposed to hold this seminar to elicit your views on significant aspects of the problem. The meetings, I understand from the members of the Team, have been very valuable in this regard. They have had in the last three days an opportunity to examine certain questions in a logical and practical manner, and much needed clarifications have emerged. It has also been possible by these means to associate you, who are the persons most directly concerned, with the task of launching the movement for workers' education.

Here I may perhaps digress to stress the importance attached by the Ministry of Labour to these discussions. We in India attach a great deal of value to the tripartite tradition, in regard to labour problems. All important questions of policy and administration in this country have been placed before representative groups of employers, unions and Government. Even the Labour Policy and Programmes drawn up for the Second Five Year Plan are the result of such discussions. In matters affecting labour policy, the community is an important factor. The tripartite tradition ensure that the Community's interests are safeguarded. Our seminar and the work of this Team are in keeping with this tradition.

I should now like to say a few words about the role of the Indian trade union movement. As I have already indicated, it is our view and belief that the Indian trade union movement has a unique share of responsibility in the development of the country. The Government of India is committed to this idea. In some other countries, in a comparable stage of economic development, trade unions have perhaps been assigned a relatively unimportant role. Indeed in many of the industrialised countries, the trade unions came to be recognised as partners in the industry only at a late stage of development. This is a mistake which we will try to avoid and in this context, international experience has a special value. Trade unions have played a major role in our struggle for national freedom. It is only appropriate that they play an equally major role in our economic and social development.

It is important, even as we have these laudable aims in view, that we have a realistic appreciation of the position of the Indian labour movement as it exists today. Far too many of our unions are weak, far too many of our industrial workers are unorganised. Many of them have an agrarian background, and are not fully acclimatised to the new industrial environment. A great deal of work has to be done to evolve strong, lively and constructive trade unionism. Yet as I look back on the 35 years I spent in this field, I cannot but view the future with optimism. The climate of public opinion is favourable, the worker himself is developing rapidly and given the right kind of assistance, I myself am confident that we shall march forward towards our goal in a harmonious and democratic way. We have already provided a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs in the 2nd Five Year Plan for the programmes of workers' education.

I am well aware that the mass of industrial workers themselves have not yet assumed leadership of their own unions. There are outsiders in the organisation, but when one comes to think of it, most of them are not really "outsiders". They are persons who have submerged their identities in order to work for the under-privileged sections of the community. They have rendered and still continue to render valuable assistance to the trade union movement. Yet it is perhaps appropriate to pose the challenge whether workers should not themselves manage their own unions. I have no doubt in my mind that eventually this should be so. For no matter how deeply one is devoted to the cause of workers, one can never—I humbly suggest to you—feel the same way as the workers do unless one has gone through what they have gone through and shared and lived their life.

There are many reasons why leadership has not so far come from the ranks of the workers themselves. An important reason is the lack of basic facilities for education. Since independence, we have made considerable progress in providing education to the bulk of industrial labour in India. There are a number of programmes of adult education in the field. The Second Plan has laid considerable emphasis on spreading adult literacy. Already in many of the older industrial cities of India, 40 to 50 per cent of the workers are literate. This is an important potential asset to the development of the trade union movement. Another important asset is the innate intelligence and good sense of the workers himself. One does not realise unless one works in the movement itself, how much the rank and file do in influencing the trade union decisions in spite of the lack of formal education. A programme of workers' education in India should, in my mind, be conceived in such a manner as to utilise the potential of the Indian workers' innate common sense, whether he be literate or illiterate.

You are aware of the recommendations in the Second Five Year Plan regarding workers' participation in management. The socialist society which we endeavour to achieve in our country is one in which the worker shares the management of the enterprise as a co-owner alongwith the employer who in turn acts as a co-worker with him in the promotion of industry. It is then that we would achieve the ultimate objective of trade union movement, the objective which was laid before us by the Father of the Nation when he entered the movement. We have, however, no doctrinaire or set approach as to how this should develop. We are convinced, however, that a beginning must be made to associate the worker in decisions affecting his job and livelihood. The manner of such association and the timing of successive stages of development will have to be flexible and developed according to experience. In fact, already a beginning in this respect has been made in several areas in the country. I am convinced these experiments will be extended to other areas also, and in coming years the scope of such participation would also be considerably widened. This will happen, if not in the next two years, during the next plan period or the following. Our only concern is that such participation is healthy, real and effective. But the foundations for this have to be laid now as the process of education which will make the worker an effective participant will take time to mature. It is, therefore, appropriate and essential that we provide for training in this regard also. After all, education has to be a continuous process. There is a long way to

go between what we see today and the picture that we have in mind for the trade union movement ten years hence, and the sooner we get on the move the better. The only caution has to be that the direction in which we move is the right one. As an indication of our earnestness, we had recently sent a high level team to study experience of European countries on this subject. We are awaiting their final report with interest.

I may add that worker's participation in management assumes significance in view of our latest industrial policy statement. The public sector which is already important, will assume greater importance in the years to come. The plan has indicated that the State should be a model employer. A corollary to this is the obligation on the worker to regard his work in his industry as a service to the community. Any scheme of workers' education must evoke in the worker, the spirit of such service which I know from my experience in the labour movement, does exist, but has to be properly harnessed.

These are certain informal thoughts which I have wished to share with you, the participants in this seminar. I do not wish to say more, as I do not wish to pre-judge the report and recommendations of this Team whose services it has been our privilege to secure. In this regard, may I merely conclude with one note? Let this be the first, but by no means the last forward step we take in the cause of union education. For ultimately progress in this direction depends on the willing co-operation of all of you and especially the representatives of the trade unions and the members they represent.





## APPENDIX G

Final summing up of Proceedings of the seminar on Workers' Education by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Director, Delhi School of Economics.

I should like to begin by saying what a tremendous amount of pleasure it has been for me to have been present throughout the three days of this Seminar. When I was first asked to undertake this task as Chairman of the Seminar, I was somewhat hesitant. But I am very glad I accepted the invitation because it has been an education for a teacher like myself to have a study for these three days of the various aspects of workers' education and to listen, particularly, to the representatives of the workers. It was the first time that I have had the opportunity of sitting together with the representatives of the trade unions of different ideological complexions. They have made a substantial contribution, but most impressive has been the form in which the contribution has been made. The economy of language, the sequence of ideas, the pointed references and the character of their observations; the entire good humour and the feeling of camaraderie with which they carried on the discussion; the practical common-sense attitude that they took—all these things have left a very vivid impression on my mind. I am grateful to the Ministry of Labour for giving me, a mere professor of economics, an opportunity, to educate myself in regard to the potentialities of a large number of my countrymen.

The Seminar was brought into existence to assist in the formulation of recommendations for workers' education. The Government of India set up a team of experts—they were assisted, I believe, in regard to the foreign members of the Team by the Ford Foundation—four Indian Experts and four overseas Experts. This team will make its recommendations to Government on the subject of workers' education, for which purpose a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs has been set apart in the Second Five Year Plan.

I would like to point out that sometimes people in our own country do not realise how important what one may call "Labour" of this country is. By "Labour" I mean wages earners, people who live by selling their "labour". I am not talking of self-employed persons, owners, owner-cultivators and owner-traders but people who live by their work.

According to the 1951 Census, there were in this country as many as 30 m. persons who lived on wages. Of these about 18 m. were agricultural labourers and about 12 m. were in non-agricultural occupations. From the point of view of their residence, 9 m. of these workers were resident in the urban areas and 21 m. were in the rural areas. According to the figures which are available in the Labour Year Book and other publications, there were as many as nearly 10 m. wage earners classified under various occupations. This was available by mixing some of the figures of 1953, 1954 and 1955. The factory workers account for 3 m. Those working for the Government, C.P.W.D. and other constructional work are 1½ m. Plantations account for 1·2 m. Workers engaged in commercial establishments account for 1 m. The Railways engage about a million workers, The Posts and Telegraphs Department employs 2,62,000 and so on. If you take these 10 m. workers, most of whom are in urban areas, you will find that as many as 4 m. persons are in the public sector. Therefore, I think the subject of workers' education in this country is extremely important. Nobody can ignore the enormous potentialities of this country in terms of an organised labour force. The problem, however, is difficult in this country because our Government has, so to speak, a dual capacity.

On the one hand, it is the elected representative of the people including not only the 30 million workers, but the entire population with an electorate of 190 m. persons. On the other hand, Government is also an employer, a very big employer who has got at the moment 4 million workers employed in one capacity or another. This number is bound to increase in the context of our economic planning and socialist economy.

Normally it is the function of the trade unions to say that the trade union movement should grow. It is rather a strange thing that here, in India, we have a Government which has taken the initiative and expressed itself in favour of strengthening the trade union movement. We have a Planning Commission which deliberately sets aside a certain amount of money, may be the money could have been more, for the purpose of training these workers in becoming good trade unionists. Perhaps the workers in the public sector experience more difficulties than workers in the private sector, or may be, much more is expected of the employers in the public sector. Whatever might be the reason, a Government which wants to spend public funds for education of workers and for the building up of trade unions is bound to recognise the principle of trade unionism in its own establishments.

I do not think there can be two opinions about it. I do not think, it can be said that the trade unions should only be meant for the workers in the private sector and not for workers in the public sector. I am sure that is not the position of Government and that should not be the position of Government. Knowing Shri Khandubhai Desai as I do for so many years, I very much doubt if any such position would be accepted by him that trade unions should only be meant for the private sector.

Our economy and our society are different from the economy and society from which they—the foreign experts of the team—come. I want to say this because we often hear foreign friends bringing out ideas which are not quite suited to this country. I am not necessarily referring to any of my friends in the Team of Experts. When our foreign friends talk of 'indoctrination' or 'propaganda', I think these facts have to be recognised. We have decided as a nation to have a democratic society. We have also decided to have a socialist society which is not the case with the United States, and which, I am afraid, is also not the case with the United Kingdom at the moment. The Indian Nation has also accepted the goal of a planned economy for the purpose of speeding up the economic growth and bringing about a rapid development of this country. The trade unions have to grow and any system of workers' education has got to develop within the context of these principles; otherwise they would not get public support. It is the community as a whole, represented by their Parliament, which has decided that the kind of society we want to have is going to be a democratic society and not a totalitarian society, a socialist society and not a capitalist society. It is going to be a planned economy and not a *laissez faire* economy. This is something which has got to be kept in mind.

Workers' education and the training of workers is a part of the different needs of the society. All these conceptions that there should be a class-war, that the employers are always the enemies of the workers, that we have to build up armies to fight them and so on—I would suggest all these conceptions are to be taken in the context of what we want. I hope I have not caused violent disagreement amongst my friends who are present here, but I thought it was absolutely essential for me to state this, especially in view of the fact that words like 'indoctrination' and 'propaganda' were used so often. I think we have got to realise that as far as workers' education is concerned, the worker has a most important part to play in production and on their education depends the successful working of political democracy and growth of the Indian economy. That is why the Government wants the trade union movement to be built up.

Among the goals which have been suggested for workers' education, we have got to include this goal, *viz.*, preparing the industrial worker and his associated unions for playing their legitimate role in the context of the democratic socialist society which has accepted planning as a technique for bringing about its economic growth. The greatest emphasis is to be placed on establishing properly administered democratic trade unions with capable leadership developed from within. Unless the workers are organized in the most satisfactory way possible, there is the danger of totalitarian trends emerging. If the trade unions are not democratic, if they are not independent, then there is a danger that the trade unions will not perform the task which is expected of them. Therefore, I do not agree with the suspicion that there is any danger towards democracy and I would urge on the people who belong to the Government point of view to understand this. I should always go all out to place as much emphasis as possible on the dissociation of Government from any agency which is set up for purposes of workers' education, because of the peculiar position it finds itself in as a big employer. Also because of the need for building up democratic unions within the country. I think it is essential that there should be as little influence as possible of Government in such agencies.

Speaking for myself, I would not be too much in favour of setting up a Central Board on which the Government, the employers and the employees will be represented. I would think in terms of a Workers' Education Association or some kind of a body which would purely be an association of the workers. And this association can have representatives of workers, the employers and the teachers sitting there and working autonomously or semi-autonomously as described by one of the speakers. That is the ideal body which will have relations with Government, universities and other educational institutions and which will be organising classes, seminars, discussion groups and so on. But that is not possible today because the trade union movement is weak. The number of trade union members (I am referring to the 1951 figures) is 1.9 m. and not more than Rs. 3/8/- is spent on one trade union member—a total expenditure of Rs. 70 lakhs for 1.9 m. members. The trade union movement has not got the resources to take on the responsibility of workers' education at the moment. Therefore, I would like to commend the possibility of having something of a statutory organisation—may be on the lines of the University Grants Commission, may be on the lines of the Council of Scientific and Industrial

Research or the All-India Council for Technical Education—which will be as much separated from Government as possible and will not be suspected of being influenced by the Government. That is necessary to remove all possible doubts that the Government is trying to influence the trade union movement in a particular way. I would, therefore, suggest that the agency should be either a Council of Workers' Education on which labour and the different people will be represented or a Worker's Education Commission which would be provided with funds for distribution to the various workers' institutions and universities which are taking part in workers' educational activities.

Then, I think, there was agreement and, it is something which is very important, that the aim of workers' education is not merely to build up trade unionism, but also to build up good citizens.

I would like to say something on what should be the courses for different workers—rank and file, members of union councils, etc. I was sorry that more people did not stress the great importance of educating the rank and file, and I say, the non-member rank and file—because, today if you take the figures of 1951 the number of trade union members is not more than 2·3 million. That would mean that 80 per cent of the workers are not union members. Unless the workers form themselves into unions, it is going to be extremely difficult to operate a democratic socialistic society. The workers get themselves organised into a union not merely for getting more wages (it is a 19th century point of view). As far as my country is concerned, the objective is not only the improvement of the working conditions, but also organisation for the purpose of taking the country forward in a big way for its economic development. Therefore, it seems that unless there is voluntary organisation, it will be very difficult to make a socialistic society work in a democratic way. If there are not enough voluntary organisations, trends towards totalitarianism are bound to emerge because the logic of economic development is that there should be an organisation and there should be channels of communication and media of operation. Therefore, I say, it is absolutely essential that in any programme of workers' education stress must be laid on the extension of the trade union movement very widely by way of audio-visual aids, films, etc. so that every wage earner must become *ipso facto* a trade union member. I would say that not only about the manual workers, but also about the persons who belong to the so-called white-collared class. Every worker who works and earns his living by a wage must be enabled to become a member of a trade union. Trade unionism is a way in which he organises himself and at the same time brings the full force of his collective strength in the democratic running of the country. I would, therefore, attach the greatest importance to the subject of educating the rank and file.

Then comes the education of the trade unionists. I must confess that this seminar has been practically devoting itself to this aspect—how to train the trade union members and ensure that they operate an efficient and healthy trade union movement. You can only give education to the trade union members and officials, and not for outsiders. We cannot expect that outsiders should be educated. It is the trade union members and trade union officials who have to be educated regarding the techniques such as how to run the management, how to administer law, how to keep accounts, how to talk etc. It is not, however, correct to say that trade union committee executives, presidents, secretaries and so on and also the trade union officials should be put on the same line. You cannot expect the trade union committee to go for training for 3 or 4 months. It is not possible. They are working on the job. They may be available for a week only. They may attend some Seminars or lectures for about a fortnight in the evenings. In other countries, there are a number of officials who are helping trade unions. They are workers for the workers' organisations. It is that kind of people whom we want. Can we not depute some persons for this work? Supposing an office contains 10 officials, one official can be deputed for this work each year. Employers should realise this difficulty. It takes a long period to understand the trade union system.

Training for the officials is extremely important. Trade Unions should be financially strong to employ officials and pay them a reasonable salary. Only then it will be possible to function very efficiently as in other countries. It is only theory that everything is to be done in an honorary way. It is not possible to get first class work free for all the time. It is most unfair to expect to do so. Only people who have silver spoons in their mouths or have rich relatives can come forward and do the work. The Trade union movement must have a body of civil servants as in other countries. That can come as time goes by. You won't need a large number of colleges. The trade union officials are not many. It should not be a difficult matter to arrange first class training for these officials.

I must confess I could not understand why the top leaders should get training first. No body says that the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers or others should be asked to get some training before they become one such. I do not feel that such training is at all required. Why should top leaders get training and then become leaders? They would have known before they actually became leaders. You do not train top leaders. It is a totalitarian society that will do this. You can do this in the capitalist society. But you do not do it in the democratic society. What you should do is to give some opportunities to the top leaders. By virtue of their service, education and the hard work they have put in, they will themselves come up and there is no use in giving them training of any kind. You can give them opportunities by calling them to Seminars, Conferences etc. Seminars should be organised and financed by the Central Statutory Councils or social welfare organisations. If Government can place at their disposal some grant, that may be all right. Some houses may be vacant. It may be at Simla, may be at Dalhousie, may be in any other place. It can be made available for the Seminar. Such things are done in the United Kingdom. Last year, I had the occasion to visit such places. Similar is the experience in the United States also. I want to stress this. Either the Government or the capitalists can come forward to give facilities of this kind and it would be for the top leaders to make use of them. The seminars may last for 15 or 20 days. Officials, non-officials and experts should be invited for the discussions. Only that kind of training may be necessary for the top leaders. Having a college for top leaders is something fantastic. It cannot be compatible with a democratic or socialist society.

Then coming to the courses, the question is, what are the courses to be prescribed. These are matters of detail and I do not think it is necessary for me to go into these. The next question is who should teach? I was disturbed about the touchiness. I was perturbed when I heard the University Professors and educationists described as sitting on an ivory tower. Actually I was a little horrified. Suddenly I found myself puzzled. I was hearing the criticisms levelled against the professors and educationists on the same basis as criticisms levelled against Government by the members of the working classes. Perhaps there is reason for that. I suppose one reason may be this. I am confessing without any sense of shame, that this is the first time that I heard these criticisms by the working classes. It is true that we are isolated in the universities. Perhaps Mr. Dave was right in saying this. Educationists are conscious of being in an ivory tower. They are anxious to link up with the working classes, they are anxious to link up with realities. I would suggest in all humility to my trade union friends that the educationists in the universities are an agency which should be of the greatest value from the point of view of teaching in their trade union courses. I am not suggesting for a moment that they will do the bulk of the teaching. I do not think there should be emphasis on differences between the workers and the teachers. I think the teachers constitute a part of the working classes. In the United Kingdom, they form part of the trade union movement.

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I would suggest that teachers can be and should be used. They are professional speakers. It is their job to talk. With all respect to Mr. Mathur (he said that Economists do make things difficult), from the point of view of education, I tell you that it is very difficult to present matters simply. Inspiration is useful, but it is not sufficient by itself for teaching. I would suggest that people should not have any suspicion towards these educationists, as they are essential.

Incidentally, as Mr. Dave pointed out, it is extremely important that the working classes should have neutral expositors of their cause. Whenever there is a struggle, the working classes find it difficult to settle by themselves. Without proper understanding it is difficult. Neutral expositors are required and educationists are the source from which these expositors can be obtained. One has to take the help of educationists.

I can never forget the association I had for the last 3 days here. We have come into contact with the working classes. I wish you will be creating a force which by its objectivity and by general and accepted principles will be helping the trade unions in the country. There was really a first class and most excellent discussion here all these 3 days. I have not heard in my last 25 or 30 years so much about education and the methods of education which I did hear during these three days.

We must use different techniques in the trade union movement as Shri Mathur has told us. The techniques which are used in the staff college in Henley, in the Defence Academy in Wellington are all useful techniques. You have to have all the techniques of teaching. I have no doubt in my mind that this kind of teaching is not very easy to be attained.

Regarding the materials, I do not want to spend any time on that. Obviously, the materials have got to come. Government assistance is required, educationists' assistance is required and the trade unionists' assistance is required. Some particular agency has got to be created for purposes of material. What I would like to impress on my friends is that they should be free of suspicion. You cannot do without Government, yet you say you do not want Government. After 50 years, the position will be quite different. It is like having a wife from whom you cannot get a divorce; yet you want to get a divorce. Therefore, it is important to have some kind of devices for the purpose of conserving this marriage and at the same time preventing the marriage from turning into tyranny.

Regarding finances I would just say one thing frankly, I was a little disappointed at the attitude which was shown by practically all the members of the trade union group—I think, with the exception of Shri Tulpule. I was very much disturbed at Mr. Guruswami's exposition, with great respect to him. If the working class movement is to remain a democratic movement, it must pay something for workers' education. It is not good saying "We cannot pay anything". Of course, we are a poor country. If you take the *per capita* national income of this country, you can legitimately say we must not pay any taxation at all. There are so many in this country who ought not to pay. It is an abnormal country, but it will not remain abnormal for long. In any case, if you want to infuse a sense of responsibility, you must make this a real workers' movement. Whatever central agency you set up, sooner or later you must replace it by an agency of workers who will set up their own colleges, who will have their own working arrangements for correspondence courses, refresher courses and so on. If you want to do that, it is absolutely necessary that some share must come from the working class movement. I think it is a principle which is extremely important. There is no other way in which you can get real interest.

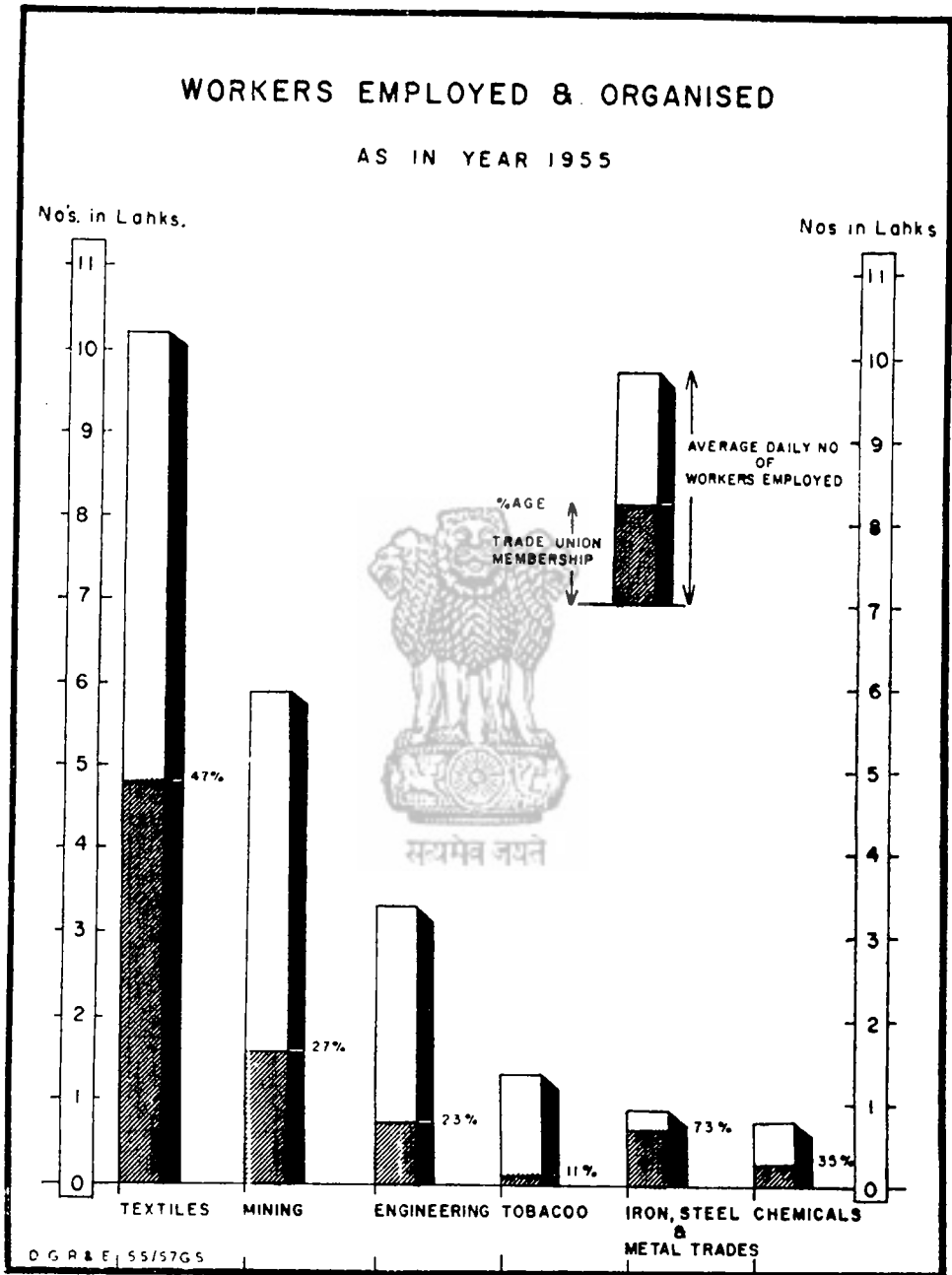
So much has been said about outsiders. It is not quite legitimate to say that because a person has worked with his hands or is continuing to work with his hands, he is the ideal person; that just because a person is a spinner he is an ideal leader of spinners, because he is a miner he is an ideal leader of miners. You might remember what happened in the old Punjab, when the whole question of money-lenders' legislation came up. They said all the urban classes, money lenders, banias and so on were the people causing all the mischief. Therefore, no transfer of land, no alienation of land from the agricultural classes to the non-agricultural classes would be allowed. It did not lead to the solution which it was intended to lead to. Instead, there emerged a large class of agricultural land-owning money lenders who went on extending their operations. Therefore, let us not attach too much importance to the question of outsiders.

If the workers—rank and file—do not come into the education movement, there is a danger that the leadership of worker's education may not become responsible. I am not saying it will become irresponsible, but since we are facing things in a realistic kind of way, let us not proceed with the assumption that everybody outside the labour movement is bad and everybody inside the labour movement is good. Everybody outside the labour ranks is not bad, everybody inside the labour ranks is not good. Therefore, I think, it is important just from the point of view of democracy to make the leaders themselves responsible. If your rank and file is not going to sit on the boards, they are not going to determine the courses, they are not going to run the education movement, I am afraid they will not exert more influence and evince more interest and the workers' education system will not be more democratic. I would very strongly urge on my friends in the trade union movement—if they regard me as a friend for making some provision for their education, I entirely agree with Shri Tulpule that there cannot be all Government grants. That is why I suggested an agency like the University Grants Commission, a Working Class Education Commission, with a certain amount of money at their disposal, at the disposal of different bodies in the country run by trade unions or universities or somebody else. But, I think, it is absolutely essential that some contribution should be made by the working classes themselves to the financing of their education.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have taken a great deal of your time. I am afraid, I have taken full vengeance on the organisers for having kept me relatively silent during the previous three days. May I say once again, what a tremendous pleasure and education it was for me to have sat in these discussions for the last three days. I do not call myself a labour man, but if I would like for myself any description that is a description to which I would not at all be reluctant.

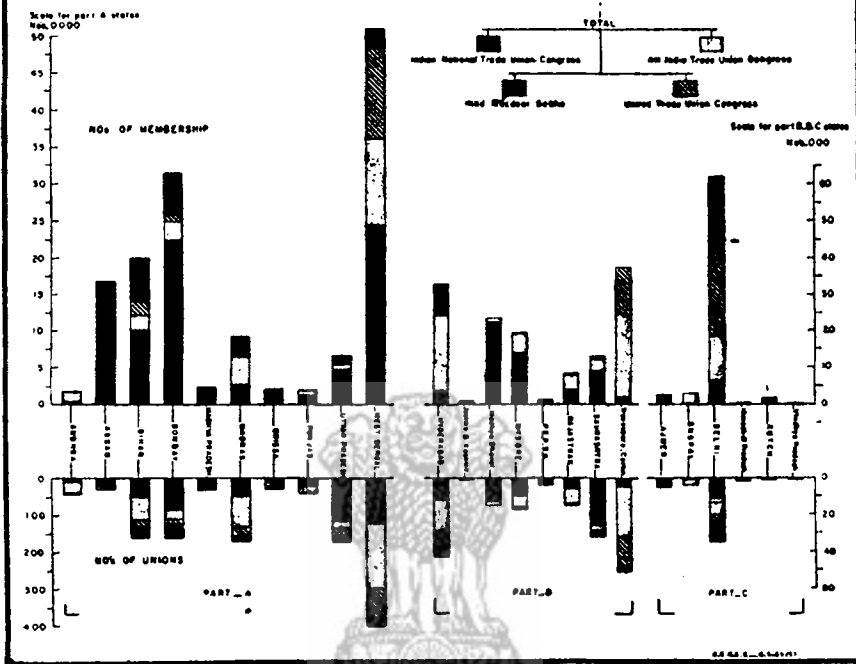
# APPENDIX H

## Charts

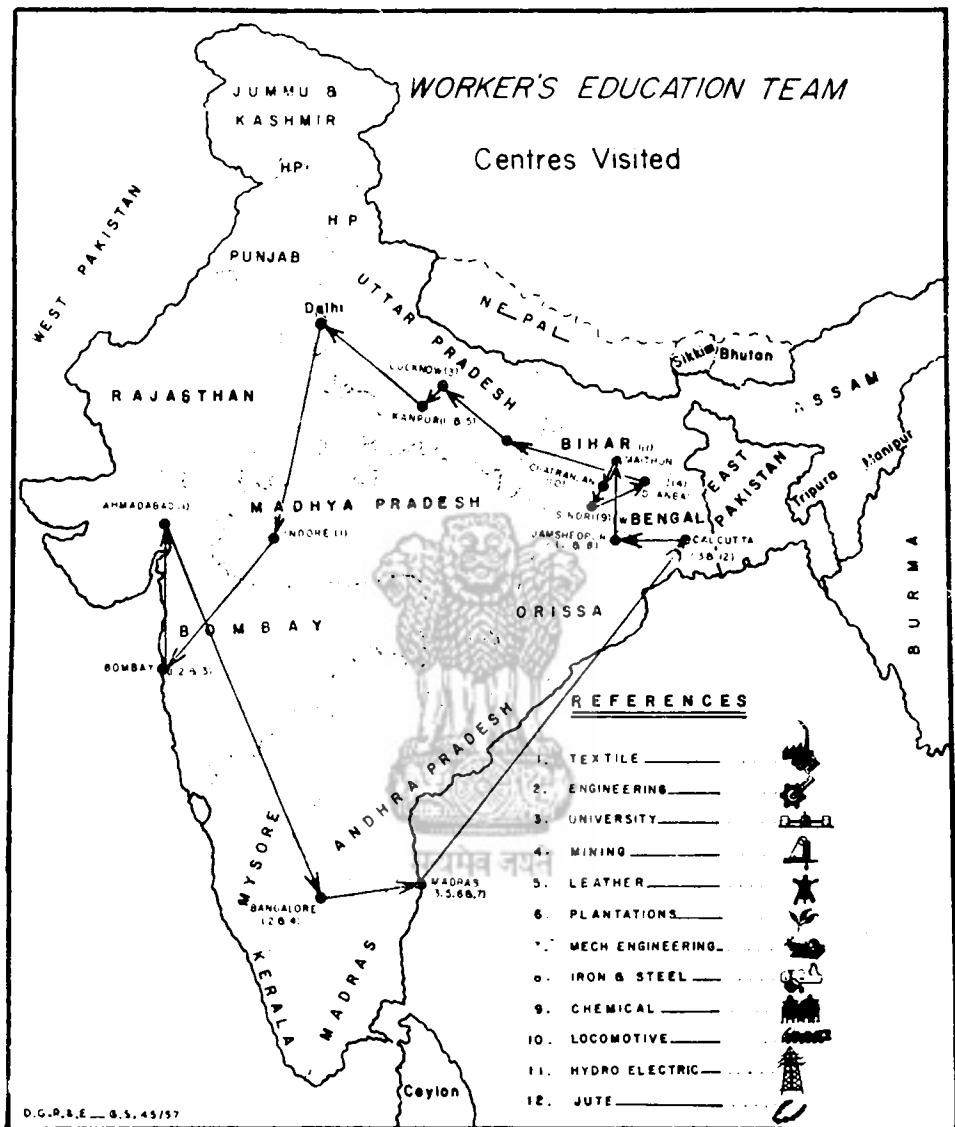


# STATE WISE ABSTRACT OF TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

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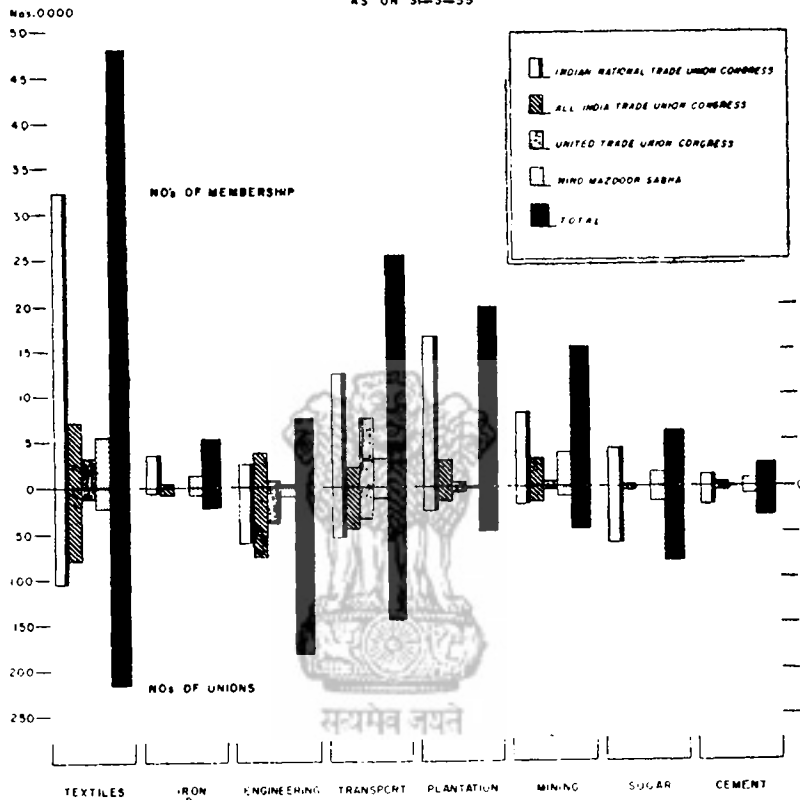
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# ABSTRACT OF TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP FOR MAJOR INDUSTRIES

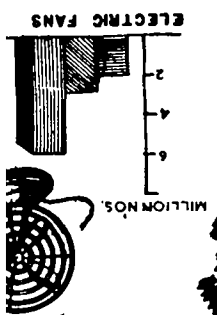
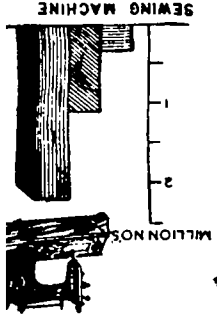
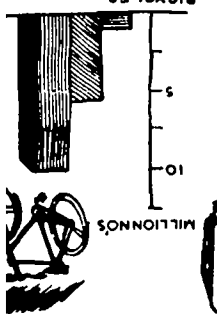
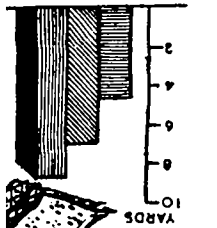
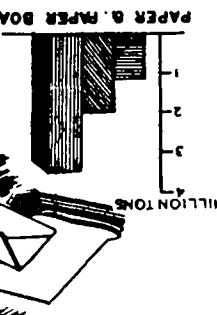
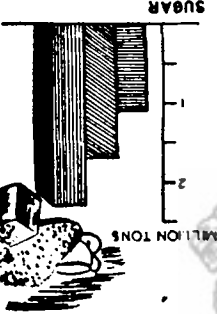
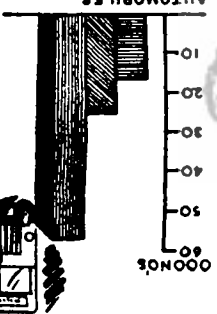
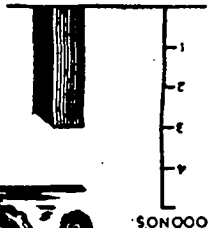
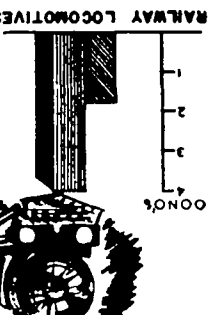
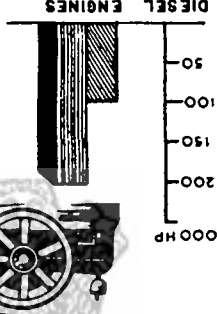
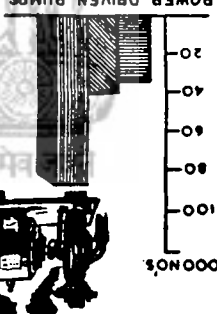
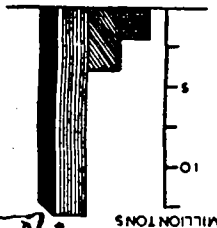
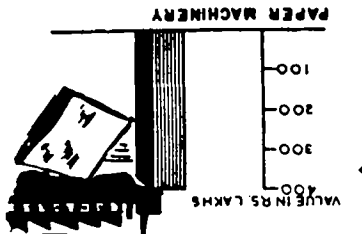
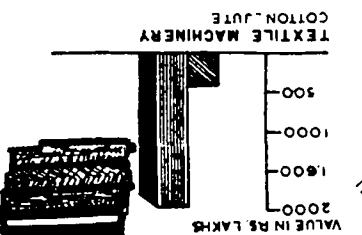
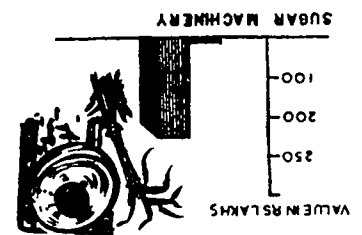
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FOR ALL INDIA

# E INDUSTRIES

SECTION 8. DEVELOPMENT



# LARGE SCALE INDUST

MAIN TARGETS OF PRODUCTION & DEVELOP

